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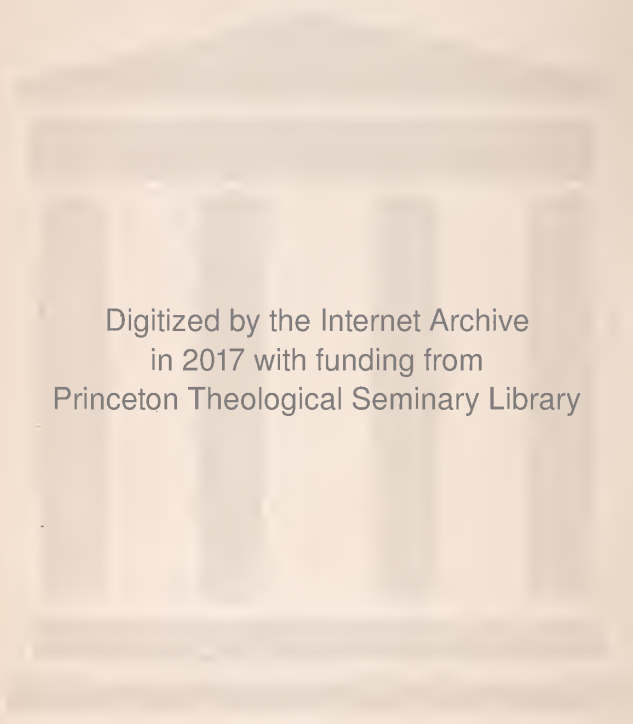
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LIT
* JAN 27 1911
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION

By

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN
D. D. (Ken., Un. So.)
BISHOP OF ARKANSAS

With an Introduction on "The Origin and
Development of the Historic Episcopate"
by the REV. GEORGE WILLIAMSON
SMITH, D. D., LL. D., Sometime
President of Trinity College.

And with an Appendix on "The Chief
Barrier to Christian Unity" by "AN-
GLICAN PRESBYTER."

NEW YORK
THOMAS WHITTAKER

1910

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BY

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY BROWN.

This Volume is Reverently Dedicated
TO THE MEMORY OF
IGNATIUS THEOPHORUS
AND
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG
THE GREAT SAINTS OF THE
SYRIAN AND ANGLO-AMERICAN CHURCHES
WHO
About A. D. 116 and in A. D. 1853
APPEALED FOR CHRISTIAN UNITY
on the only basis possible
A UNIFORM CHRISTIAN MINISTRY,

PRAYER FOR THE UNITY OF GOD'S PEOPLE.

O GOD, THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, OUR ONLY SAVIOUR, THE PRINCE OF PEACE GIVE US GRACE SERIOUSLY TO LAY TO HEART THE GREAT DANGERS WE ARE IN BY OUR UNHAPPY DIVISIONS. TAKE AWAY ALL HATRED AND PREJUDICE, AND WHATSOEVER ELSE MAY HINDER US FROM GODLY UNION AND CONCORD; THAT AS THERE IS BUT ONE BODY AND ONE SPIRIT, AND ONE HOPE OF OUR CALLING, ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM, ONE GOD AND FATHER OF US ALL, SO WE MAY BE ALL OF ONE HEART AND OF ONE SOUL, UNITED IN ONE HOLY BOND OF TRUTH AND PEACE, OF FAITH AND CHARITY, AND MAY WITH ONE MIND AND ONE MOUTH GLORIFY THEE; THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR LORD. AMEN.

PREFACE.

WITHIN each of the national Churches which compose the Anglican Communion there is a large and influential school which makes much of what is characterized as the prophetic office of the Christian priesthood, and would close the doors of pulpits against all who have not received ordination to the Ministry by a representative of the Historic Episcopate.

This school, which contains many of the most saintly, earnest and learned among our Ministers and People, is, I believe, quite right in the importance which it attaches to the prophetic office. The world is to be saved very largely by "the foolishness of preaching;" not prosaic teaching, but prophetic preaching.

I am in complete sympathy with this school in its contention so far as it relates to the existence and importance of the prophetic mission. Indeed, I am inclined to go beyond it, by insisting that no one, not even a Greek, Roman or Anglican Bishop, should remain in

the Christian ministry unless he feels in his heart that he has for the world at least some one message, especially his own; so that, like St. Paul, he can say of it, "my gospel;" and "woe is me if I preach not this gospel."

The idea that the Christian faith was once for all delivered to the Saints in a crystallized form, and that it is the office of a Minister of the Gospel simply to propagate it, by teaching it as it has been formulated by an ecumenical council, or interpreted in the writings of some ancient Father or Doctor does not commend itself to me. A Christian minister does not fulfill his duty by a restatement of the doctrines of, say, St. Thomas Aquinas. He must, indeed, be a teacher and defender of the great essentials of the old, the primitive, the Catholic faith; but he must also be a living voice through which God, if He does not make new revelations, at least interprets His old revelations with reference to the newer developments of His providence.

But while I agree with the representatives of this great school in the importance which they attach to the prophetic mission of the Christian ministry, I am fully persuaded that they are wrong in limiting the right to preach to the historic or to any official Ministry. I have come firmly to believe that there are real prophets, inspired prophets, who are not Christians in the ordinary sense of the word; and that there are real Christian prophets, inspired prophets, in Ministries which have never had any connection with the Historic Episcopate, or which have broken off that connection; and that there are real prophets, inspired

prophets, among Christian laymen and laywomen who have never occupied a pulpit, and whose congregation is limited to a Sunday School class.

The conviction grows upon me that prophetic inspiration is not the rare, official, limited, little thing that some among us would make it out to be. It is like the wind that bloweth where it listeth, and it is quite as likely to illuminate the mind of a humble mother while teaching her inattentive child the catechism, as that of an illustrious Pope in his ex-cathedra utterances to a waiting world.

In the lectures of this book, and in its notable introduction and appendix, three representatives of another great Anglican school preach the Gospel of that Christian unity which is necessary to the evangelization of the world; a unity to be accomplished through a Common Inter-Church Ministry, secured and maintained on the perfectly level basis of the pure Republicanism which constitutes the heart of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Divine Republican.

The Level Plan for Church Union proceeds upon the assumption that the Common Inter-Church Ministry, upon which the carrying out of the plan is dependent, must be secured without compromise of principle. There are two theories respecting the origin and authority of the Christian ministry, the Sacerdotal or Priestly and the Republican or Protestant.

According to the Sacerdotal theory, a true Christian

ministry is dependent upon a devolutionary transmission of authority and power by an unbroken series of ordinations from the Lord Jesus through the original Eleven faithful Apostles, or from St. Paul. Sacerdotalists, who regard ordination by Apostolic Succession as transmitting the commission necessary to a valid Christian ministry, are either Episcopalian or Presbyterian.

There is a very large and influential school in all the national Churches that constitute the Anglican Communion which holds that the official acts of a Christian minister are invalid unless he has been ordained by a Bishop of the Apostolic Succession. So important does this doctrine appear to the representatives of this school that, in order to establish it, they have tried, some think with success, to trace our Anglican Episcopate back, by tactual succession, link by link, to Augustine of Canterbury, and from him to St. John or to St. Peter.

There is a school in some, if not all, of the Presbyterian Churches which holds to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession almost as firmly as any among Episcopalians, but its representatives insist that the succession must be traced through the Presbyterate, and that Bishops and Presbyters constitute one and the same order.

The Congregationalists of various names, among them the great Baptist and Disciple Churches, hold to the non-Sacerdotal, Republican, Protestant theory of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry, and count ministerial succession, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, as of no vital importance. They contend that Christian

ministers are simply officers of the Church, elected and appointed by the people, and that, aside from this, the all important essential of a true Ministry is the call of the Holy Ghost and the possession of the spirit of Christ.

Sacerdotalists and Republicans agree that Divine grace is necessary to efficiency in the preaching and sacramental ministrations of a Christian minister; but they differ in that the former hold that this grace is a transmission of power from Christ in the Sacrament of ordination, while the latter hold that it is a transmission of power from the Holy Ghost, without any necessary connection with the ceremony of ordination.

I hope to convince the reader of this book that there is no reason why the representatives of these diverse views of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry should not unite in constituting a Common Inter-Church Ministry, and that I have discovered a way by which they may do so.

As my gospel of the Level Plan for the unification of Christendom came to me as a progressive revelation from my personal experience as a missionary worker, perhaps the interest in it will be increased if I give a short autobiographical sketch covering my ministerial life so far as it has a direct bearing upon this gospel.

Let me say, then, that I became a convert to the Episcopal Church, as the result of Sacerdotal teaching and have been in her Ministry for a quarter of a century.

The whole of my ministerial life has been spent in this Church's mission field, first as a Circuit, then as a General missionary in the Diocese of Ohio, and afterwards as a Bishop missionary in the Diocese of Arkansas. I have devoted every energy of mind and body to my Church extension and upbuilding work, much of which has been of a proselyting character.

I have gloried in this work, and have spent and been spent in it, because of the conviction that in English-speaking countries, the Churches of the Anglican Communion can make superior claims to the allegiance of the people; and that these Churches will become the several rallying points of unity, when it shall please God to bring together into National churches and International Communions all Christians of our race into one fold, under one ministerial shepherding. In support of this conviction I preached and wrote a great deal, and not in vain; for I have been instrumental in establishing many Churches and in making a multitude of converts. Within the twelve years since I became Bishop over forty Episcopal Churches have been built in my Diocese, and it has more than doubled in every element of strength of which statistics can take account.

If sectarianism is to continue, I should much prefer to be an Episcopalian sectarian, rather than any other kind; and so long as it continues, or until my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand forgets its cunning, I may be counted upon to speak and write of the superior claims of the Churches of the Anglican

Communion to the allegiance of English-speaking people.

But, now that I have made this declaration of loyalty to the Protestant Episcopal Church in particular, and to the Anglican Communion in general, let me make the reader my confessor.

As the years have gone by, the conviction has been forcing itself upon me, that though, to others, I have seemed to have had somewhat notable success as a missionary, I, to my own mind, have failed in my distinctive work as a Christian minister; and the pity of it is, that under present conditions, there is no way of escape from the sectarianism which has defeated my highest aim. I must either quit my missionary efforts, or else continue to build up a sect at the expense of other sects; and, try as I will to prevent it, while things remain as they are, my sectarian work will overlap the work of other sectarians; and this, notwithstanding the fact that it scarcely touches the hem of the garment of the unchristianized, and of the needy poor who are on every side.

My work is completely typical of nearly all successful sectarian ministerial endeavors. It is to a great extent a pulling down and a building up, at a tremendous waste of energy and money, and in a shameful disobedience of our Lord's commands: "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature;" and "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."

If I have learned anything from my experience and observation as a sectarian missionary, it is that we cannot

make the real progress that should be made in the conquest of the world for Christ, unless we get rid of our sectarianism.

A very large proportion of the classes which the Bishops of the Episcopal Church are confirming, is made up of Christians from other Churches. Often the majority of a confirmation class is composed of such, and recently I had an experience which, notwithstanding my thorough-going sectarianism, made me heartsick. I confirmed a class, all the members of which had been exemplary Christians, some among them eminently so, of other religious bodies. For a long time I held the theory that this process would rightly continue until the Episcopal body would swallow and absorb all other Christian bodies; but now I see that such a result is neither possible nor desirable.

Of course, as a sectarian I welcomed these good people into the Episcopal Church and would be glad to see many like them in all the classes presented to me for confirmation. I always have proceeded, and probably always shall proceed, upon the assumption that many of the English-speaking Denominations originally got all of their members from the Churches of the Anglican Communion and that, therefore, I have a right to get back as many as I possibly can of their adherents. Besides, to say nothing about the superior, or at least prior claims of the Episcopal Church to the allegiance of English-speaking Americans, this is the land of the free, where people are at liberty to follow their convictions, or, if they have

no convictions, their preferences in the choice of their Church relationship.

But though it is easy enough, by such considerations, to justify my proselyting efforts, it is becoming increasingly more difficult for me to be reconciled to the fact that, while a large percentage of my confirmation classes are made up of proselytes from the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and other Churches, fully fifty per cent of the adult population of the United States are not faithful members of any Church. The Good Shepherd rejoiced over the one sheep that He found in the wilderness more than over the ninety-nine which did not go astray, and I have come into the possession of that measure of His spirit which leads me to prefer that, in making up their confirmation classes, the Clergy should direct their special efforts towards the securing of non-Church members. Not that I am unwilling to confirm ten times as many proselytes as I do, but that I want to confirm ten non-Church members to one proselyte, and that I have come to regard a confirmation class which is wholly, or even chiefly made up of proselytes as an evidence of weakness rather than strength in the Church which should inspire regret instead of satisfaction. The Rector who presented the class of proselytes to which I refer, was greatly elated at his valuable catches from the other Churches, but, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, my heart was heavy because he had toiled all the year without catching anything from the great sea of the unchurched world.

I honestly believe that I am an illustration of the power

of a sectarian leopard to change, by God's grace, some of his spots. For I have reached the point, when I think that Christian unity in the United States, by an absorbing process on the part of the Episcopal Church, would be a misfortune.

The "United Church of the United States" cannot be an old Church including within its organization all other Churches. It must be a newly developed, national institution, resulting from the union on an equal footing of all the orthodox Churches, ancient and modern, Sacerdotal and Republican.

This book was written for the purpose of showing that (1) the unification of Christendom necessary to the evangelization of the world is dependent upon a Common Inter-Church Ministry and (2) that this requisite Ministry cannot exist except in the case of the Churches which mutually acknowledge that a Church, whether ancient or modern, large or small, which holds to the belief that Jesus is the God-Man, Saviour of the world and makes provision for the teaching of this doctrine and the administration of the Sacraments of Christian Baptism and the Lord's Supper is a true Church of Christ; that the official Ministry of every such Church is entirely regular, and that the acts of its representatives in preaching and administering the Sacraments are completely valid and efficacious.

The Sacerdotal doctrines of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry and of the unnatural super-

natural effects of the two Sacraments, and other sacramental ordinances are fully considered with the result of establishing the conclusion that they will not stand the test of examination in the light of either Scripture, history or philosophy.

In this general conclusion I am most ably supported by two learned writers, the Rev. Dr. George Williamson Smith, and "Anglican Presbyterian," who respectively contribute to the book an exceptionally important Introduction and Appendix. They are in themselves such distinct and finished essays in support of the Level Plan for Church Union, that I may fairly claim for this book that it presents to the public in one volume three separate and distinct works in support of this plan.

In the Introduction, the traditional Sacerdotal claims respecting the origin and authority of the "Historic" Episcopate are examined in the light of the evidence afforded by the New Testament and Patristic literatures, with the result of showing that it was developed for the purpose of securing unity to the church; and that therefore the use of it as a sectarian asset is wrong. Thus, the conclusion is reached that I am justified in proposing an Inter-Denominational, non-sectarian Episcopate which will become the center of ecclesiastical unity in the case of each nation.

The primary object of the Appendix is to show by special references to recognized authorities, that a fundamental contention which runs through the lectures of this book is in exact alignment with the doctrines of the

Anglican Reformers and with the conclusions reached by scientific experts in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities. This contention is, that Christianity is essentially Republican, or Democratic, and that therefore Republicanism rather than Sacerdotalism must be made the basis of any plan for Church union in which can reasonably be centered any hope for success. But the scholarly and brilliant writer of the Appendix who, like many another Christian minister of extraordinary gifts and acquirements, is the pastor of a small but highly favored flock, goes far beyond this purpose by advancing and supporting independent arguments against Sacerdotalism, with so much originality and skilfulness as to render his essay one of the most powerful pieces of controversial literature that has appeared in recent years.

May I suggest that the most advantageous reading of this threefold book would be to pass from its Introduction to the Appendix; then take up its Lecture III and afterwards Lectures I and II in order. This arrangement for the book was of course out of the question, but, nevertheless, it would have been logical and effective. Those who read through the book as it stands are earnestly recommended to go back and re-read at least Section II of Lecture II in the light of the information that they have gained from Lecture III and the Appendix. This Section II, Lecture II, is the crucial section in which the Level Plan for Church Union is stated.

In Lecture I, an effort is made to show that the coming

together of the Churches, upon which the universal extension and full development of Christianity is dependent, cannot be brought about upon any except the exactly level ground of pure Republicanism. What is said in this section is fundamentally opposed by the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession. Accordingly, it contains in Section III, an effort to show the untenable character of that doctrine.

In Lecture II, the plans for Church union, for which the many Churches stand, are grouped into three general divisions, on the basis of the chief principles involved, and shown to be impracticable. As has just been observed, in Section II of this Lecture the plan which I am advocating is clearly stated and securely supported by historical facts and arguments. Section III is devoted to the answer of the chief objections that have been offered to the plan. Much labour was bestowed upon this section and considerable space given to it, because of the conviction that if the objections which pass under review here can be set aside, the Level Plan for Church Union may be regarded as invulnerable against any attack that can be made upon it.

In Lecture III, the writings of the great Sacerdotal authorities, Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly of England, and Bishop Hall, of the United States, are examined. Copious and telling quotations which give support to the positions taken by me here and elsewhere are made from the writings of the chief experts in the science of

historical criticism. It is believed that they will generally be regarded as most interesting, illuminating and conclusive.

The answer by "Anglican Presbyter," to Bishop Hall's representations in his recently published and widely read essay, "The Apostolic Ministry," is in itself worth the price of this volume. It is printed as a supplement to the Appendix.

On a recent visit to the home country, one of the Bishops of an English colony, who is doing work in a difficult mission field, where he deeply feels the necessity for Church union, offered the suggestion that the universities of Oxford and Cambridge should make provision for the meeting of the great need of an up-to-date restatement, in the light of the facts established by the science of historical criticism, of the whole Anglican system of doctrine concerning the Christian church, ministry and sacraments, in-so-far as that system bears upon the subject of Church union.

The authors of this tripartite book, in common with many others, felt the need for such a restatement long before eloquent expression was given to it in one of the stirring missionary addresses of this returned colonial Bishop; and, though they have no idea that their humble efforts will render it any the less desirable that the carrying out of his wise suggestion to the great universities should be arranged for by their authorities, yet they humbly believe that no restatement of the kind that might be made by representative Oxford and Cambridge scholars, would

in any important respect, except in fullness only, differ widely from that which is here presented as the result of their combined efforts.

I have chosen to denominate my plan for Church union, "The Level Plan," though perhaps, "The Inter-Church Episcopate Plan," or "The Common Ministry Plan," or "The National Council Plan" would have been as good a designation of it. The contents would also justify the title which Bishop Gore gave to his last book, "Orders and Unity," or better, "The Christian Ministry and Church Union."

The Level Plan for Church Union is my individual, unofficial interpretation of the official plan of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and of the semi-official plan of the rest of the Anglican Communion, as set forth in the fourth article of the so called Chicago-Lambeth Quadri-lateral.

I want most thankfully to acknowledge my very great obligation to some six or eight friends who have been so kind as to take much interest in this book. They have allowed me to put them to the trouble of reading the whole of its first draft, and large parts of the several revisions that were made before the Level Plan for Church Union was finally worked out as it is now presented to the public. Their criticisms have resulted in the improvement of many passages throughout the book, and also in the writing of that important section of it in which the chief objections to the plan are stated and answered.

The Rev. Quincy Ewing has been of so much service

to me and has left such a deep impression upon the book as to cause me to feel that he should be mentioned by name. I started out with the conviction that the necessary coming together of the Churches could never be secured on the uneven ground of Sacerdotalism which, as I had come to believe, is essentially Jewish and Heathen, and that, consequently, the perfectly level ground of Christian Republicanism must be selected as the place for the requisite reunion. When I had carefully surveyed and staked off what I supposed to be this ground, Mr. Ewing pointed out that, according to the bearings which he took, I had not, here and there, altogether avoided the Sacerdotal domain. After much correspondence, I became convinced that he was right and made the necessary changes in my lines. Without these changes the book would have been wanting in logical consistency. During the remainder of my life, I shall thank God upon every remembrance of Mr. Ewing.

In concluding these prefatory remarks, may I, so to speak, rise to a question of personal privilege, by making reference to the painful consciousness of the fact that my book, "The Church for Americans," is in part irreconcilable with "The Level Plan for Church Union." Indeed, the books differ as a whole in that "The Church for Americans" is a criticism of Protestantism, written from the Sacerdotal view point; and that "The Level Plan for Church Union" is a criticism of Sacerdotalism, written from the Protestant point of view.

But I am happy in being able to say that, notwithstanding I was, in the days of its writing, a thorough-going "Catholic," "The Church for Americans" contains very few Sacerdotal passages, none of which are of a virulent type. But such as they are I trust that they will be forgiven me by God and man, because of my regret for them and also on account of the Lecture in that work, entitled, "Our Controversy with Romanism," which is an attack on the very citadel of Sacerdotalism that has never been repulsed.

This section of "The Church for Americans" and many shorter passages of the same character, have prevented the book from becoming popular in the "Catholic" school of the Protestant Episcopal Church, so that, though it has passed through many editions, nineteen, I think, very few copies have been purchased and circulated, as proselytizing instrumentalities, by representatives of that school. The many Clergymen and Laymen who have used the book extensively, several among them purchasing twenty-five, and two or three as many as fifty copies at a time, have been almost without exception either "low" or "broad" or conservative "high" Churchmen.

The evening of life is upon me, and it will have to be longer than I fear it will be, if, before that night cometh in which no man can work, I accomplish all the undertakings that I have planned. It is not likely therefore, that I shall ever find time to rewrite "The Church for Americans;" and while sectarianism continues, I shall remain too much of an Anglican sectarian to withdraw it.

Of course, the next edition of "The Church for Americans," if another is called for, will, no preventing Providence, contain an additional preface, in which my radical and happy change of front will be frankly avowed. It will have a full list of the Sacerdotal passages and a correction of their erroneous teaching. If, however, I should not be permitted to prepare and publish such a correction of what there is of the false doctrine of Sacerdotalism, I here earnestly request that, in view of the true Gospel Republicanism of "The Level Plan for Church Union," and its recently published predecessor, "The Crucial Race Question," no man will charge against me the errors of "The Church for Americans," a book, written at a much earlier period, which reflects more of the teaching that I received at the theological seminary than of the results of my own independent investigation and thinking.

And may I not humbly plead that the inconsistency of my earlier and later writings is in principle the same inconsistency that St. Paul and St. Peter manifested. For at first they believed that the only way in which they could accomplish God's purposes would be by going to the world with the Gospel through Judaism, but afterwards they concluded, as the result of experience, that they must abandon that plan and go directly to the nations.

St. Paul was a strict Jew. He was a Pharisee, a party in the Jewish Church which corresponds to the "Catholic" party in the Anglican Churches, and he was also a Rabbi. He never quite got over his Rabbinism. His interpretation of the Gospel to the end was colored with it. But

he left his Pharisaism very far behind. He at last found himself so immeasurably distant from it that he could say of the Jewish Church and its ceremonial requirements, "Christ is the abrogation of the law." From that time on, St. Paul's preaching and work had reference to Christianity as a world religion, which was to be regarded as quite separate and distinct from Judaism. Henceforth he taught that the Gospel included all nations on exactly the same footing.

My doctrine concerning the essential equality of the orthodox Christian churches, ancient and modern, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, a doctrine which constitutes the cornerstone of the foundation upon which The Level Plan for Church Union is rested, involves the very same principle that was involved in St. Paul's doctrine that no distinction is to be made between the representatives of Judaism and Heathenism as to their relationship to Jesus and their standing in the Christian church.

I cannot get away altogether from my Protestant Episcopalianism, even, if I may reverently make such a comparison, as St. Paul could not get away altogether from his Judaism. He believed until the end that Judaism had certain great advantages over all other religions, and I believe this of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, as compared with any other Christian church. But, as St. Paul ceased to believe that the world was to be saved through a judaized Christianity, so I have ceased to believe that its salvation is dependent upon an anglicanized Christianity.

Those who may desire to examine the representations which constitute the basis of the Level Plan for Church Union, in the light of the great authorities who have written on both sides, will find a list of their works following the Index.

In the preparation of this volume I have devoted every moment for the last three years that could possibly be taken from "the care of all the Churches," and I respectfully invoke for this the first fruit of my assiduous labors on behalf of Church union, the thoughtful consideration of the reader.

The Episcopal Residence.

W. M. B.

Little Rock, Arkansas.

St. Bartholomew's Day, 1910.

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“IT IS THOUGHT BY MANY THAT THE TWO CHIEF CONCERNS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WILL BE THE CONQUEST OF THE AIR AND THE CONQUEST OF THE ETHER. BUT THIS IS A MISTAKE. THE TWO CHIEF CONCERNS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY ARE NOT AERONAUTICS AND WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY; THEY ARE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AND THE UNIFYING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. THESE TWO SUPREME INTERESTS ARE CLOSELY ALLIED, TANGENT, NAY, INTERLOCKED AT MANY POINTS. IT WAS A UNITED CHURCH WHICH IN OUR MOTHERLAND CREATED OUT OF A HEP-TARCHY A REALM, AND IT MAY YET BE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A UNITED CHURCH TO TRANSFORM THE VAST WELTER OF COMPETING FORCES WE CALL THE WORLD POLITICAL INTO A TRUE COSMOS, A UNITED SYSTEM OF STATES AND GROUP OF STATES WHICH SHALL REPRODUCE ON A FAR LARGER SCALE THE ANCIENT CHRISTENDOM.”—*The Late Rev. Dr. William Reed Huntington.*

THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE
HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.

BY THE

REV. GEORGE WILLIAMSON SMITH,
D. D., LL.D.

SOMETIME PRESIDENT OF TRINITY
COLLEGE.

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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE.

I.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following paper was written at the request of Bishop William M. Brown, of Arkansas. The materials were mostly gathered immediately after the Protestant Churches had so promptly and unanimously rejected the famous "Quadrilateral" because it made the retention of the "Historic Episcopate" one of the conditions of Church Unity. It was frequently asserted that the acceptance of the doctrine of the "Apostolic Succession," as held by the Protestant Episcopal Church, was really included in the term, "Historic Episcopate," and involved an abandonment of the Protestant position. Some denied that there was any such succession; or else they held that the Episcopal system was not essential to the Being of the Church; that it could be abolished, and

other polities substituted as circumstances demanded. This summary rejection of the "Quadrilateral" was a great disappointment to its supporters.

The desire for Christian unity was in the air but if the "Quadrilateral," with the *Jure Divino* doctrine of the Episcopate, presented the lowest terms on which the Episcopal Church would consent to consider the question it had with one blow destroyed the possibility of even its consideration. Now, a theory, or an institution which is destructive of unity must be established beyond question. The Episcopate might be apostolical and yet provisional, or it might be obligatory for all ages. Many Christian people take the former view, but the overwhelming majority, the latter. Again it is possible that an institution designed to be permanent may become too rigid and fail to adapt itself to the varying needs of human society and require readjustment. In its development its supporters may gradually grow into the conviction that even the purpose for which it was instituted is secondary, or can be realized only through its instrumentality, and abuses arise from this conviction. This was the case with the Papacy and the Reformation was the consequence. Has there been "too much stiffness" in our attitude towards other Churches? In the early Church the Episcopate was the "Bond of Unity." Why should it not be so to-day?

For the study of what was involved in the fourth article of the "Quadrilateral" the League of Catholic Unity was formed on the initiative of the late Rev. Dr. W. R. Huntington. It was to be under the direction of

twelve Clergymen who represented equally the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal polities. The number of directors was afterwards increased to twenty. The object of The League was the formation of groups or circles of scholarly men in different parts of the country for the study of the origin and growth of the Episcopate. The League was dissolved after a few annual meetings, because interest in the subject had waned. But in the meantime much reading had been done and a great mass of notes and memoranda accumulated.

In correspondence with Bishop Brown last year it was learned that he thought the result of the inquiry would be of value to him in some work which he was doing. Accordingly the notes and recollections were gathered together and put into such order as a migratory life of some months on the Pacific coast, where the necessary books are scarce, permitted. In the absence of books to consult much was done without an opportunity to compare the notes with the originals. When the work was nearly completed Bishop Lightfoot's thorough and scholarly essay on the Christian Ministry was again met with. The gratification at finding that his view was substantially the same in many particulars was very great. No doubt it had been, unconsciously, a directing thought in the studies. Yet it is only fair to say that the paper has not been modified in consequence of rereading it.

The Church of to-day cannot sever itself from its past. Its life has been continuous in all the varied experiences of nearly nineteen hundred years, and it has been enriched

by the wisdom of saintly men and women who, though counted dead, still speak in its voice. It is the great advantage which a historic institution cannot be deprived of that in any emergency it may look back and see what was done under like circumstances by men who were moved to action by the same purposes, note the result of their action, see in what respects it failed or succeeded, and thus be guided in the path of wisdom to meet the difficulties of later times. It is true that there is never an exact repetition of what occurred before, but in a long period of history there will be to some degree a correspondence between the two. Often both will be found to arise from the same causes, and often they can be settled by the same principles. Sometimes there must be a recession from a present position or attitude, sometimes an advance by one party or another in the composition of differences; sometimes both must change one way or another to restore peace. Always a conciliatory, a Christian attitude towards each other, is essential to the composition of differences.

One who accepted the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession through, and only through the Episcopate, as the doctrine was taught by the High Churchmen of fifty or sixty years ago, is destined to many surprises. He will find the evidence less clear than he anticipated. It will be supported by fewer early authorities than its advocates claim, and there will be more evidence than is conceded by its opponents. It will be difficult to discover contemporary evidence of the prescriptive institute of the Epis-

copate by the Twelve Apostles as an essential accompaniment of the Gospel, and we feel that if there had been such evidence in a matter so important it would not have been permitted to perish. May it not be possible in reasoning back from accomplished facts to find another cause for the universal existence of Bishops in the Christian church in the second or third century than its apostolic institution? If so, it may open the way to a reconsideration of the rejection of the Episcopate by the Protestant Churches and it may come to be valued by them, as it is by the majority of our own people, as divinely appointed through the agency of the Church itself (and therefore subject to laws enacted by the Church) for the establishment and maintenance of unity, purity of doctrine and efficiency in doing the work of our Lord.

By what authority, then, were Bishops appointed? If the Order was created by the Twelve Apostles was it their intention to perpetuate their Apostleship through all the ages as indispensable to the Church's existence? Or were Bishops appointed originally, whether by apostolical or ecclesiastical authority, rather for "the edifying and well governing of the Church" as our Ordinal declares?

It may be stated for such as may read this prefatory note but do not care to read the paper that the conclusion arrived at is, contrary to the writer's original view, that the Apostles did not at the beginning of the Church impose upon it a ready-made organization but rather permitted one to grow up naturally under the operation of The Divine Spirit. Such an one would be best suited to

a voluntary and rapidly growing Society and would be no less Divinely ordered. When they were appealed to in an emergency, as when Deacons were appointed, they associated the disciples with themselves and sanctioned the conclusion at which they arrived. There are a few traces of a tentative Episcopate in the New Testament but no theory of it is propounded. The Episcopate was *apparently* instituted by St. John near the end of his life in Ephesus and its neighborhood *in such Churches as requested it*, and under the apostolic sanction it spread gradually throughout the whole Church. It seems not to have been *prescribed* by St. John but he approved, sanctioned, and gave the Apostolic benediction to what had grown up out of the experiences of the Church during the first century of Christianity. It met the needs of the Church at that time and continues to this day as, under his blessing, an Apostolic institution.

Yet it should be noted, to prevent misunderstanding, that there is no contemporary evidence that St. John instituted it and until further evidence is brought forward the statement is open to question.

When we are theological students we receive such instruction as satisfies our minds in regard to the polity of our own Church. The representations are based upon authorities selected by revered teachers and are passed along from one generation of students to another. This furnishes a basis for our future work. Our active life in the Ministry leaves little time

for additional study of the question, even if we should think it desirable, and so we become "set" in our way of regarding our polity. But if a time comes when we are called upon to consider the real cause of our separation from those other Churches in which we may have dear friends who have been trained in methods like our own, though in a different direction, we find it difficult, if not impossible, to remain unmoved. Unfortunately, owing to the multitude of claims upon her, the Episcopal Church in the United States is weak in universities and in ripe scholars trained in the methods of to-day to whom we may turn. Finding that "much may be said on the other side" we may doubt the sufficiency of our inherited views and say that "one polity is as good as another if it makes good Christians," or we may strengthen ourselves in our position by passing lightly by, or refusing attention to what our Brethren "on the other side" have found sufficient for them. In what I shall write I cannot claim to be disinterested, or unbiased; but only as fairly honest as the case permits.

If the theory be held that the Episcopate was instituted by the Apostles to perpetuate their own order, as above and distinct from the body of the Church itself, possessing inalienable powers, rights and privileges and discharging its functions independently of the Church's authority, and if it be held that this order is "a rider" to the Gospel so that the Gospel cannot be savingly preached nor the Sacraments be validly and efficiently administered without Episcopal authority, then the extension of the

Episcopate is of vital importance. The only possible way of re-establishing unity is by the absorption of the non-Episcopal Churches either by their corporate surrender to the Episcopal Church, or by the gradual transfer of their members until those Churches cease to exist.

If, on the other hand, the Episcopate was created by the Church under apostolic sanction, or came into being in the order of God's Providence as the best means of securing sound doctrine, order and unity, but was not prescribed as perpetual and unchangeable, a departure from it by some Churches under changed circumstances, would not destroy *essential* unity nor prevent later readjustment for the re-establishment of that uniformity by which unity would again be manifested and secured. Indeed, in the Lutheran Church, that part which is in Sweden retains the Episcopal Polity while the Church generally is Presbyterian, but its unity is not destroyed.

This study into the development of the organization of the Christian church, especially in regard to the origin and nature of the Episcopate, was undertaken in the hope of finding some principle to guide us in the effort to arrive at a basis of ecclesiastical unity. What I had been taught and had accepted as sufficient no longer satisfied me. It presented harder problems than those it solved.

II.

BISHOPS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BINGHAM tells us (Bk. II, ch. i, Sec. 3) that the words of Tertullian imply "That the Apostles, as they founded Churches, settled Bishops in them." Without questioning the accuracy of this statement we may doubt its sufficiency, for we learn from the New Testament that many Churches came into existence by the labors of others than the Apostles.

In Acts viii, 4, we read that they who were scattered abroad in the persecution which arose about Stephen went about preaching the Word. It is certain that not all the disciples were Apostles. Some of them were, no doubt, laymen, as Apollos was. So also in Acts viii, 40, we read that Philip, the Deacon, preached in all the villages from Azotus to Cæsarea. Many Churches, then, must have had their beginnings in the work of others than the Apostles. Even many which became illustrious subsequently, could give no account of their origin. Is there any account of the beginning of the Church in Great Britain, or in the city of Rome, for example? Milman tells us that "St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans proves undeniably the flourishing state of the Church before his visit to the city;" nor could St. Peter have been in Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius, or the beginning of that

of Nero. "The Gospel had filtered into Rome" long before any Apostle went there. Ecclesiastical history is silent on the beginnings of the Church in many cities and countries. All Christians felt bound to preach the Gospel wherever they went, and the rapid spread of the Gospel by the preaching of others than the Apostles compelled the new disciples in many places to provide for the administration of the offices and sacraments as best they could.

It is worth while to recall that the early Gentile Churches were generally composed of Greeks, or of those who used the Greek language, and that the Churches were voluntary associations and were as readily organized by the freedom-loving Greeks as if they had been composed of American citizens. The whole Empire was honeycombed with voluntary associations. Ordinarily one or more officers were appointed who were called by names suitable to the nature of the association. When we first find such a voluntarily organized Christian society we meet the name, or title *Episcopus*, or *Episcopi*. This was not an ecclesiastical term but is used in the general sense of "overseer" or superintendent. The Septuagint, in the Greek translation of Nehemiah xi, 14, calls Zabdiel, who was over certain men who did the work of the House of the Lord, their Bishop; and in verse 9, Joel, the son of Zichri, was Bishop of the sons of Benjamin who dwelt in Jerusalem. And in the Apocrypha (I Mac. i, 51) we read that Antiochus Epiphanes sent Bishops into the Holy Land to extirpate Judaism and set up idols. The Athenians used to send officers who were called "Bishops" to

exercise a superintending authority in cities of their "subject-allies" and Cicero speaks of himself as *Episcopus* in Campania (*Ep. to Atticus* 7:11). St. Peter uses the term in its highest application in his First Epistle (ii, 25,) and again in composition in quite a different sense (iv, 15). But while the term *Episcopus*, or Bishop, had not the highly technical meaning of later ecclesiastical history it was not incapable of a religious significance. All the *collegia* or voluntary societies had some religious background and worshipped as their Protector some one of the gods. Whatever may have been the reason of its employment at first—and it does not seem difficult to account for its use—the duties of the office in a religious society would at once give it an ecclesiastical character. The New Testament generally recognizes more than one Bishop in a Church, and possibly they corresponded to an executive committee of our day, of which one of them would be chairman or chief. As the *Episcopi* were largely engaged in the care and disbursement of money and are associated in the New Testament with the Deacons who distributed the alms, it is not improbable that they received their title from the nature of their duties. The importance of the charitable features of early Christianity made the office a very responsible one and its honor and power rapidly increased. The *Episcopi* seem to have gradually acquired, if, indeed, they did not possess them from the first, the ecclesiastical and spiritual powers which were exercised by the Presbyters of the Jewish-Christian churches (if there were any such Presbyters, in Philippi for example,

which we are not told), and the terms Bishop and Presbyter became synonymous. Other duties such as the correspondence with other Churches naturally devolved upon them as representatives of their respective Churches. Take it all in all, such a development of the Episcopate as occurred was according to the law of human progress. These nascent Churches chose their Episcopi according to the custom of other associations.* The simplicity of the early Christian societies where no regular clerical order had been established is thus described by Tertullian in his treatise on Chastity:

“The authority of the Church and the honor sanctified through the establishment (*concessum*)† of the Order (of the Clergy) has constituted the difference between the Order and the people. Accordingly where there is no establishment of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize and are Priest alone for yourself. But where there are three‡ there is the Church, though they may be laymen. Therefore, if you have the right of a Priest in your own person, in case of necessity, it behooves you to have also the discipline of a Priest.”

* Didache xv. Elect, therefore, for yourselves Bishops and Deacons worthy of the Lord, etc.

† Thelwall translates: “the honor which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the Order.”

‡ Some years ago I happened to spend Sunday in a village in Tennessee. Asking where Divine Service was to be held I was told that there was no Church or Clergyman of any kind in the place but that a blacksmith sometimes called the people together and preached. He had “called the people together” that day in the school house, where he conducted Services and preached to the satisfaction of the people. The Baptists have since built a chapel there and hold occasional services. On another occasion in North Carolina I walked two miles to a rude school house where the people

The Church in Rome seems to have sprung up in this way. If the statement of the Jews made to St. Paul as recorded in Acts xxviii be true there could not have been many Jews in the Church of Rome at that time. The early literature is Greek and it was several generations before the Church had a Latin at its head. This had an influence in its primitive organization.

When the Apostles found such Churches I suppose that they recognized the authority of the officers. Whether they ordained them as St. Paul had ordained the Presbyters in Asia Minor, I can find no evidence—probably they did; but from the different terms of organization used among the Jews and Gentiles, it came to pass that there were two names for the Ministers of a Church. When we read that so and so was the first Bishop of such a Church we cannot be sure that he was an officer appointed by an Apostle. He may have been an *Episcopus* appointed by the *Ecclesia* itself. In a century or two the complete apostolic ministry was generally established; but those communities of Christians were recognized as “Churches” before that, and because they were “Churches” the Apostle would “impart some spiritual gift to the end that they might be established.” Perhaps apostolic orders were such a “spiritual gift,” though Hort says not.

assembled for worship. As there was no Clergyman in charge, and the people came by agreement among themselves, the school mistress suggested that one of the Mountaineers who could read and sing “lead the meeting.” This met general approval and so the service was held. I was told that sometimes a Baptist preacher happened along and was invited to “lead the meeting.”

In St. Paul's first missionary journey he gave no organization to the Jews who believed, possibly because they were already members of a synagogue. But the believing Gentiles, the acceptance of whom by the Apostle in the Church at Antioch, in Pisidia, so enraged the Jews, were not organized by him until his return journey, when he and Barnabas "ordained them Elders in every Church," either by his own volition or at their request, *i. e.*, he organized *them* on the plan of a Jewish synagogue. What time had elapsed since their conversion we do not know; but during the interval, long or short (the margin of my copy of the Bible says two years), the Christians seem to have been left to arrange their own ecclesiastical affairs like our "Congregational societies." But they are called "Churches," and not "Christian Bodies," or "Christians of another Communion." Then "Elders" were "appointed" and they were still "Churches." So far as the New Testament record goes, St. Paul never saw them again but left them "Presbyterian."

The number of Churches soon became too great for his personal supervision. In a new and rapidly growing movement, where no inherited custom or system of defined doctrines could direct men's actions or thoughts, disorders or false teachings, must have been frequent. Therefore he delegated, on at least two occasions, others to act for him. He left Titus in Crete "to set in order the things that were wanting, and appoint Elders in every city." Timothy, also, was to "tarry at Ephesus" when St. Paul went to Macedonia, to see that certain men should "not

teach a different doctrine." We do not read that St. Paul was asked to send them but these two were appointed to act in the place of, and with the authority of the Apostle himself, and were substitutes, and in a way, "successors of the Apostle" Paul in Crete and Ephesus. It has been claimed that their office was intended to be temporary "till the newly appointed Elders (in Crete) should have gained some really effective influence under the difficult circumstances of their new office"; and, in the case of Timothy, who was appointed by "the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery," either Lycaonian or Ephesian, and "by the putting on of" St. Paul's "hands" (Compare Acts xiii, 2 and 3), to take the place of Barnabas "in the temporary mission" of the Apostles. The question whether the authority conferred was "permanent" or "temporary" does not obscure the fact that both Titus and Timothy were superior officers in the Church for the time being. There may be a question whether they were Presbyter-Bishops, *i. e.*, Presbyters commissioned to exercise apostolic authority; or, having received further consecration, Apostolic-Bishops. In any case they were a new kind of officer, or "Bishops," as we understand the word, for the time being, and the Churches in Crete and Ephesus were, so far, Episcopal.

This showed the trend of events and how St. Paul met the need. Here was the germ of the Apostolic Episcopate in the Gentile Churches. It was by no means the Diocesan Episcopate of to-day, but it contained the principle from which the Diocesan Episcopate sprang. And

here the history of the ecclesiastical organization as given in the New Testament ends.

We have, then, Churches with three different kinds, or degrees, of organization, corresponding generally with the present condition of the Protestant Churches. They were contemporary Churches with different polities, equally participant of the Holy Spirit, all in communion with each other, all recognized as parts of the body of Christ by His Holy Apostles. There is evidence that this dissimilarity in organization continued till the time of Justin Martyr, at least to A. D. 140, and probably very much longer.

In the apostolic age the offices instituted in the Ecclesia were, as it appears from the New Testament, the creation of successive experiences and changes of circumstance. We do not read that our Blessed Lord prescribed any ordinances on this subject. We have a brief history of what some of the Apostles did but is there evidence that they intended from the very first to give the Church an unchangeable organization or law? That is the question before us. But in any case the presumption is that the acts of the Apostles are examples, or guides to subsequent generations and should not be lightly regarded when they can be followed.

From this brief statement, taken from the Acts of the Apostles, it seems to follow that the Congregational Churches are to be regarded as true "Churches" in an apostolic estimate; that Presbyterial Churches which have transmitted their orders "by the laying on of the

hands of the Presbytery " have an Apostolic Ministry; that the recognition of these different forms of Churches by each other in love and fellowship resulted in a short time in a uniform organization, because it was found that the dissimilarity weakened the Church, and threatened its extinction.

In studying the question of the origin of the non-Episcopal Churches of our own day we observe that in the break up and disintegration of the Church at the time of the Reformation, the Christians who in the stress of the times were compelled to organize their Churches without the time honored and venerated Episcopate, and in some cases without any Clergyman at all, reverted to the simpler organizations of the Church in its beginnings. It was necessary and natural. Circumstances required it. Our Methodist brethren, whose clergy and people had been accustomed to an Episcopal form of government, naturally desired to continue its form when they were refused recognition by the English Church and it is said that Wesley, on the showing of Lord Chancellor King that Presbyters had ordained Bishops in the early Church, felt authorized to ordain Bishops for the American Methodist Church.

III.

THE TRANSITION FROM APOSTOLIC TO EPISCOPAL OVERSIGHT.

THE PROPOSAL of Bishop Brown to offer to extend the Episcopate to the Churches which are without it involves two questions: First, is the Episcopate in its origin and character such that the Episcopal Church is at liberty to offer to impart it to Churches which are without it? Second, is it necessary or desirable for those Churches to accept it?

The second question those Churches must answer for themselves. The first is the one that appertains to us and at this point investigation is important.

One may well shrink from a task which has engaged the best scholarship of many generations and which is yet far from completion. But there has been a change in the religious mind towards toleration; fuller consideration is now given to the authorities and arguments of those who differ from us, and we have also some scant addition to our knowledge from newly discovered documents. Above all, the new method of historic inquiry, which seeks to know what the documents and the terms used in them meant to those to whom they were written, instead of rest-

ing upon what they have come to mean in our day* may lead one to venture a little way into the wilderness of early ecclesiastical history in search of facts and principles which may extricate us from the *impasse* of our Denominational differences. Let us see what the fourth side of "the Quadrilateral" really involves.

There is not, to my mind, sufficient evidence that in the year 70 A. D. there was what we now understand by a diocesan Episcopal government in all the Churches, *i. e.*, that all the Churches had Bishops, Priests and Deacons. All the Apostles except St. John were dead and we read in contemporary documents *i. e.*, in the New Testament, of only two orders in the Ministry permanently instituted or recognized by the Apostles, namely, Presbyters, or Bishops, and Deacons. It may be asserted that Bishops as a separate order had been appointed in some of the Churches in Asia, but I have found no satisfactory evidence of their appointment at that time in Europe.

In the course of a hundred years or a little more, we find the institution practically universal, and the question before us is, How did this come about? The cause of the change in Church government, if there was a change, should not be difficult to discover; but to trace the successive steps by which it was effected has baffled the efforts of the most scholarly. The following view is offered with such misgivings as are inevitable.

* Tertullian: *Præsidet probati quique Seniores, honorem non pretitis, sed testimonio adepti.* Bingham translates it thus: "The *Bishops* and Presbyters who preside over us are advanced to that honor only by public testimony."

Our Lórd had committed the preaching of the Gospel and the founding of His Church to the Apostles whom He had chosen, and every act of theirs, especially at the commencement of their work, is worthy of the most careful examination and study. At the very beginning of their work we are met by a fact of the utmost significance. We are told in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles that between the Ascension of our Blessed Lord and the Day of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended upon the disciples, the "hundred and twenty" at the instance of St. Peter elected Matthias to be an Apostle in the place of the traitor Judas and to take his "Bishopric." The qualification for this office was a continuous association with the Apostles or disciples all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them, beginning from the baptism of John unto that same day that the Lord ascended. The gap in the apostolic ranks must be filled in order that there might be twelve chosen witnesses of the Resurrection. They must be men whose personal knowledge of Jesus was such that they could not be mistaken about His rising from the dead, for upon this fact the Church, the "Kingdom not of this world" but of the world unseen, was to be built. This election of an Apostle was not made by the Eleven, but by the disciples, through whom St. Peter seems to have believed that the Lord would make known His will. Matthias, was, then, the official representative of the disciples to testify to the fact of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, in which they believed.

This occurred before the publication of the Gospel on the day of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost was given and the Church entered upon her mission of blessing. It was a special appointment for a special need and it was made not by the Apostles but by the disciples. After the spread of the Gospel we do not read that there was a further filling up of the depleted ranks of the Twelve. When Herod "killed James the brother of John with the sword" (Acts xii, 2) we have no record that the martyr's place was filled in the apostolic ranks. The Resurrection was then proclaimed by the whole Church of thousands of believers. So it has been ever since. The date of every letter, bill, or legal document in Christendom proclaims it—*Anno Domini* is written upon them all. The sovereignty of Him who rose from the dead, to whom "all power is given in heaven and in earth," is now subscribed to millions of times every day throughout the world.

Now it seems proper that the Church which depends for the justification of its existence upon the fact of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ should have its official representatives to testify to it. St. Peter would have the Disciples, before Pentecost, choose the man, and being chosen he was numbered with the Eleven Apostles who had been appointed by our Lord Himself. The act of the hundred and twenty disciples in choosing at the instance of St. Peter, the highest officer known in the Church—than whom no higher can be found upon earth—seems to imply that the Church was recognized as the agent of the Lord

to do after His departure what He Himself had done while on earth. In the prayer for His guidance in the election of Matthias the disciples acknowledged their power and responsibility and besought Him to enable them to act according to His will. We do not read that the Apostles "consecrated" Matthias. The election by the people sufficed. But besides The Twelve we read in the New Testament of many other "Apostles" who had not seen the Lord in the flesh. It is not necessary for us to inquire into the qualifications of Barnabas, Silas, Timothy, and others for the apostleship, as the term "Apostle" applied to them, has a wider signification than when applied to those whom our Lord had chosen. In the case of St. Paul and Barnabas, the Prophets and Teachers at Antioch laid their hands on them and they were recognized as Apostles by St. Peter, St. John and St. James at Jerusalem. St. Timothy was commissioned by the "Presbytery" and by St. Paul, and no doubt the others were appointed in some formal way.

The manner in which the Church was formed has its bearing upon the question at issue. It was not imposed upon men by civil authority as a state religion, or by divine authority as a race religion. The Apostles gathered men into a Church, as our Lord Himself had gathered them together, one by one, regardless of race, or affinities or previous religious status. They came of their own choice and they formed a voluntary society. Our Lord recognized the fact, taught at the beginning of the Scriptures, of the direct relation of the individual soul to God. It

was so in the case of Adam, and the fact is further emphasized in the Scriptures by constantly showing us that this personal relationship continued with Enoch, Noah, the Patriarchs, and a long line of worthies enumerated on their pages, and the institutions of Family, State and Church among men were *helps-meet* to aid them in this relationship. This primary fact became obscured by the institutions of society which in our Lord's day treated the individual as a mere constituent atom of a sacred whole and as existing solely for the welfare of the State or the Church. The primal truth that God cared for the Ark because Noah and his family were in it is always in danger of being forgotten; and by upholding institutions too strenuously and making too much of them, those charged with the care of the Church may come to act as if the people had been saved, not because God cared for them but only because the Ark was precious in His sight. Had not the Jewish Church fallen into this error in our Lord's day? This old truth of a man's personal relationship to God was restored by our Lord, and His Church was built for its realization. He called men to His service one by one, regardless of tribe, or class, or race, or family. He healed them of their infirmities by His personal touch. He taught that the individual man holds personal communication with God and is personally responsible to Him, and that this responsibility cannot be escaped even if it cost him his life; and so, too, a man may receive pardon from God even though he be anathematized by man. The true kingdom of God on earth so

long and ardently expected, is based upon this principle of the individual's recognition of his personal relationship to the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and all its institutions depend upon and are subordinate to it. The Messiah, the "great King," calls Himself "The Son of Man." The Kingdom is revealed as a universal commonwealth—a great Democracy—whose officers are appointed for service and not lordship. As the late Bishop Littlejohn has said "the Church is governed by the whole body of the people."

The Apostles gathered men together by preaching the Resurrection of our Lord from the dead, and organization followed. We have an account of the beginnings of the Church in Jerusalem under the care of the Apostles. While they were able to meet the needs of the believers by their personal oversight no question arose; but soon they were overburdened by the increasing demands of administration and their more sacred work was interfered with. The people murmured at a neglect. A change of circumstances called for new officers to meet a need which had developed. We observe the caution of the Apostles. They declined administrative work and proposed that the members of the Church should select the men whom they desired to serve them and they (the Apostles) would "appoint" them "over this business." The Church, then, selected the men who were to be the new officers, (Deacons) and the Apostles, whose power was not doubted by themselves nor questioned by the Church gave the Deacons their commission. It is hardly necessary

to call attention to the fact that the Apostles clearly treated and regarded the power committed to them by our Lord not as an exclusive personal asset which could be pushed to overlordship, but as a stewardship of their Master for the service of the Church, and they recognized the "Brethren" as participants in His grace and fellow citizens in the household of faith. If they did not exercise their power to organize the Church they left it to the Church itself to determine the organization.

The fact that the Gospel was first preached to the Jews has a very important bearing on the question of the organization of the early Church, for from their organization of the synagogues we derived our "Presbyter" and the status and duties of the early Gentile "Bishops" were largely determined by those of the Presbyters of the Jewish christians. In Row's book on "The Jesus of the Evangelists," Ch. xi, I find the following account of the position of the Jews in the Empire and its bearing on the spread of the Gospel:

"While the nucleus of the Jewish nation was in Palestine the race was widely dispersed both in the Eastern and Western worlds. We can hardly overestimate the importance of this as a preparation for the preaching of the Gospel. Whenever its missionaries appeared, they found scarcely a city of any size in the Roman Empire in which a congregation of Jews had not been settled for a considerable time. The very peculiarities of the race had called attention to the religion which had originated with them. All the evidence of history shows that the Jew had made

a deep impression on the public mind. He had made numerous converts; but his influence extended far beyond the number of those who actually embraced his religion.

“Wherever Judaism had been domiciled for a considerable time the Apostles found a large number of religious men who, while they had not adopted the peculiarities of Judaism, were believers in its fundamental truths. These possessed a more liberal cast of mind than the Jew proper, and united the nobler aspects of both Judaism and Gentilism. Among them the Apostles found a numerous body of men prepared for the reception of Christianity. A majority of the members of the early Churches were either Jews, or persons of this description.”

A strong Jewish element was at the very beginning infused into the organization of the Church; not, however, through the Priesthood of the Temple divinely appointed through Moses to prepare for the coming of the Lord, but through the more democratic organization of the synagogue which was not an institution of the Mosaic law.

To the Jewish convert the officers of the new Christian churches filled the place of the time-honored Elders or Presbyters of the Synagogue; to the Gentile Christian on the other hand they were officers, or Episcopi of the assembly, congregation, or meeting. The bringing together of the Jew and Gentile into one Ecclesia, or Church, made the terms synonymous and kept them both in use for a considerable time. Where the Jewish element prevailed, as in Asia Minor at the beginning, Presbyters had the precedence, but by the great reversion of the Jews a

generation afterwards the Greeks were left in control and the Presbyter lost *prestige* which passed over to the Bishop.

From the New Testament and early authors we gather that during the era of apostolic government Bishops and Presbyters were identical (at least both terms are used for the same officers); and that shortly after the death of St. John the Bishops appear as a different order from the Presbyters. It is proposed to inquire why this new order of officers was created; by what authority they were appointed, and thus seek to discover whether they were regarded by the Apostles as their "successors" and as indispensable to the Church's existence, or were appointed whether by apostolical, or ecclesiastical authority, rather for its "better government and administration" as our Ordinal declares. In either case they are recognized as divinely ordered and are not to be ignored in Church organization, except for very grave reasons.

The Jewish churches which were numerous in the early days, were modelled after the synagogue to which the members were accustomed, and their officers are called Presbyters or Elders; and they were, in some cases at least, ordained by the Apostles as officers of the Churches. When we come to the Gentiles, the Ecclesia, apparently, is not consciously modelled on the plan of the synagogue, but follows the customary form of voluntary associations in the Empire. In each case the organization develops on lines familiar to the people. At Philippi, in Crete, and

in Asia Minor, we find "Bishops" instead of "Presbyters." (Phil. i, 1; I Tim. iii, 1, 2; Acts xx, 28.)

But these officers, though bearing different names, discharged practically the same functions as Presbyters in the Jewish Ecclesia, and the names are used in the New Testament interchangeably. We read in the New Testament of "Bishops and Deacons" but not of "Bishops and Elders." If Bishops had already been appointed by the several Ecclesiæ themselves, as suggested above, they were, I think, recognized (and probably ordained) by the Apostles on an apostolic visitation, the same as were the Presbyters in the Jewish-Christian Synagogues. When the Apostles were scattered from Jerusalem the Elders, or "Presbyters," were left in charge there; at Philippi, the "Bishops." (Acts xi., 30; Phil. i. 1.) Official communications were sent to the Presbyters at Jerusalem, and with St. James they received St. Paul on his return from his missionary journey. (Acts xxi, 18.) They apparently had charge of their several Churches; for the Apostle was not a local nor administrative officer but an "Embassador of Christ" to the world at large. (2 Cor. v, 20.) In both cases the Ministers, though probably elected by the Churches, may, so far, be traced to apostolic appointment, direction, or approval. These officers, Presbyters or Bishops, seemed to have administered discipline. (Titus i, 5 and 7, uses the first term in the 5th verse, and the second in the 7th.)

St. Paul directs the Corinthian church to correct an

offender, and it is done in a very drastic manner by the officers of the Church who were Presbyters.

It also appears probable that the Presbyters or Bishops had the power to ordain. (I Tim. iv, 14, "With the laying on of hands of the Presbytery." Compare Acts vi, 6. "They [the Apostles] laid *their* hands on them.") The claim that the "Presbyters" who ordained Timothy must have been Apostolic Bishops, *because* they ordained him, assumes the very question at issue and reads into the Scriptures what we find commanded only by subsequent ecclesiastical action. It does not follow that because the Constitution of the United States requires every State in the Union to have a Republican form of government that all the Colonies were Republican in form previously. We may gather from the acts of the councils of Nice, Carthage, and Chalcedon, to name no others, that it required severe and long-continued action to prevent the Presbyters from ordaining; and finally peace was effected by the compromise of permitting the Presbyters to join with the Bishop in the laying on of hands. "All the Presbyters who are present may lay their hands equally with, or next to, the hand of the Bishop on the head of him"* (who is ordained). This permission or right is still enjoyed in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

If the Churches had remained Jewish the Synagogue organization among those accustomed to it might have sufficed, but where it became preponderantly Greek other

* Coun. Carth. 4, canon 3.

elements in the *Ecclesiæ* called for a less provincial mode of government and administration.

It is generally conceded by the later writers of Church History that there were at first no *Dioceses*, or diocesan Bishops, as Bingham believed. The individual *Ecclesiæ* were in charge of a council of Elders or Bishops under the general supervision of the Apostles for a generation or more. The actual government was practically Presbyterian or Congregational. Then, after the death of the Apostles, in a few generations, quite a new order of officers appears in control. They bear an old name and it is claimed that they succeeded the Apostles and had their authority. But we cannot identify them with either Apostles or Presbyters. They fill an office which had not been known before, some of the powers of which had been exercised only by the Apostles while others had been enjoyed by the former Bishops or Presbyters.

Now that the government of the whole Church, or even a large portion of it, should undergo a radical change with hardly a trace of opposition, may well excite astonishment. This absence of any evidence of resistance affords, it is claimed, a strong argument in favor of the Apostolic Succession as it is usually taught. And yet there may be reasons why, if such a change was made, the opposition to it was small. It does not follow that there was no change made; for evidence of reluctance to submit to it, or some of the evidence, if there was reluctance, is likely to have perished or to have been destroyed. The successful party would have no interest in preserving documents which

were opposed to it, and when an apostolic claim for the establishment of the later Episcopate was put forth, it would be desirable to get rid of any evidence which impeached the claim. But there are indications of resistance; perhaps the dearth of evidence itself, on both sides, for the period of more than a generation during which the transformation took place—such a dearth of contemporary information as we find nowhere else in the History of the Church—may give rise to a suspicion of the disappearance of documents through neglect or interest. Unhappily the destruction and fabrication of documents is not unknown in Church history. The canons of the early councils deal so largely with the Episcopal polity and its establishment that it is difficult to believe that it was recognized and received everywhere as delivered by the Apostles from the very first as a necessary part, still less as of the substance, of the Church. Drastic legislation is not needed to enforce what is commonly recognized as the ordinary form of government. So I am disposed to think that the whole question of Church government was thoroughly discussed and settled during the first centuries of Christianity, and to a certain degree we are to-day threshing over old straw. The recovery of the Didache a few years ago leads us to hope that other discoveries may throw additional light on this most interesting period of Church history.

Such a change could not have been *instantaneously* universal and therefore the term *Bishop* must have been ambiguous for some years. While it is developing into

new dignity we cannot determine when we read, *e. g.*, in later writers that "Clement was Bishop of Rome" whether he was a primitive, *i. e.*, Congregational, or a Presbyter-Bishop, or an apostolic Bishop. What we need is contemporary evidence; and unfortunately we have very little. The Roman Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas and Hermas are about all our contemporary authors.

While the Apostles were alive all questions of dispute, all dissensions and questionable doctrines, could be, as I have said, and were, referred to the Apostles themselves. We have seen that St. Paul (who was not of the Twelve), delegated Timothy and Titus to act for him in Ephesus and Crete. The state of affairs which called for such action must have been continually arising, and the Presbyters of the several Churches were unable to meet the need because they were officers only of individual Ecclesiæ who formed a council apparently of equals. If I understand St. Clement's epistle to the Corinthians, the Church in that city had deposed some of the Presbyters, and St. Clement who claims to be a Presbyter, but not an apostolic Bishop, warmly remonstrates. It may be that as the Corinthians were Greeks they were only exercising their recognized right of control over their own officers, retiring them to appoint more gifted men in their places; while Clement thought the officers of the Church like the State officers should be permanent. At any rate, it was evident that some stronger organization in the Ecclesiæ than the body of local Presbyters would

be required to maintain sound doctrine and to preserve the peace and good order of the Church and to take the place of the Apostles after their decease.

We learn from the New Testament that St. James had been placed over the Church in Jerusalem. We have statements elsewhere that St. Peter had appointed Euodus over the Jewish congregations at Antioch, and that he appointed a Bishop in Cæsarea. At the same time there are rumors that St. Paul had appointed another to be Bishop of the Gentiles in Antioch. There are rumors also of duplicate Bishops of apostolic order in Rome. I can only understand the conflicting statements by construing these as appointments to meet local or temporary exigencies, like the appointments of Sts. Timothy and Titus to Ephesus and Crete, and it was not until after A. D. 70 that a uniform and general Episcopal organization was undertaken.

Authorities should be given for historic statements. Now the fact that while all the Churches were in communion with each other in the early days, quotations are made from contemporary writers in support of the Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Papal polities seems to show that there was no one uniform settled polity anywhere in the first century, and even later, in some parts. I quote only what little seems to me sufficient to indicate how, under the Providence of God, the actual result was reached of a uniform Episcopal régime.

Until the fall of Jerusalem that city was the center of Church unity. In certain parts of Syria and Asia Minor,

it is claimed, the Episcopate had already been instituted by the Apostles. But it was especially to St. John, as the only surviving Apostle, that the need of officers who should exercise the authority which the Apostles had exercised when they were alive, appeared most imperative; and Tertullian (*Adversus Marcionem* Bk. iv, Cap. 5), tells us "The Order of Bishops when traced to its origin will rest on St. John as its author." The statement of Clement of Alexandria (*Quis Dives Salvetur*) is as follows:

"For when, the tyrant being dead, he (St. John) returned from the Isle of Patmos to Ephesus, he departed *on invitation* to the neighboring territories of the nations, (or Gentiles) to appoint Bishops in one place, to set in order whole Churches in another, and, in a third, to ordain some one of those indicated by the Spirit." Other authorities endorse the testimony of Tertullian and Clement. These definite statements of the two fathers relate to what St. John did after his return from exile in the Island of Patmos where he had received the Revelation. It has been conjectured that the Holy Orders of the Church took form in his mind in consequence of that vision, and where opportunity was afforded he instituted the order of Bishops over individual Churches to secure the orthodoxy, peace and good order of the Churches after he should have passed away. Tertullian and Clement evidently intend to have it understood that by the action of St. John a new class of Church officers was created under the old name of Bishops. There may be a question

whether the testimony of these Fathers is conclusive. They lived a hundred years after the events of which they write and during that time the Bishops had been strengthening their position by the exercise of their authority. No element of strength could be greater than the apostolical institution of their order and there was a strong temptation to claim such institution. This is granted. And it is still further agreed that the testimony of Tertullian and Clement would have been stronger if St. Ignatius (A. D. 107) who lived in the period when St. John is reported to have instituted Bishops had claimed apostolic authority for the office which he extols. This he does not seem to do, not even claiming it for himself. Possibly the fact of St. John's institution of Bishops and St. Ignatius' own place among them was so well known that it needed no mention. Unless additional evidence is forthcoming a doubt must remain, but on the whole the statements of our two authors have incidental, if not direct, corroboration, and the absence of any claim to universal, exclusive, and perpetual authority for the order of Bishops as "Successors of the Apostles," allows for the continued variations in Church government which are met in various places for a long time after their day, and their statement may be accepted as probably true.

But here a question. Were the "Angels" of the Churches in the Revelation, if they were indeed persons, Presbyters, or Presbyter-Bishops? And were they made

apostolic Bishops afterwards? Or were they ever Bishops at all as has been claimed?

As this is the point where Bishops, in our understanding of the word, emerge into the clear light of history it is especially important to look closely in order to make up our minds whether the Episcopate does, and was intended to perpetuate the apostolic order. The statements of Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria, that St. John established Bishops over Churches in Asia Minor, are late but positive. Their words have been read into the Ecclesiastical History of not only the interval between the death of St. John (about 100 A. D.) and their own day (about 200 A. D.) but also into the previous history of the Church. Yet the fact that neither St. Ignatius nor St. Polycarp claims apostolic authority, nor appears to know anything about such action by St. John, weakens the statements. Ignatius, who wrote a few years after the Apostle's death and who vehemently insists upon the authority of Bishops, makes no mention of any such action by St. John, although no argument could have served his purpose better had it been true. In his letter to St. Clement, of Rome, he makes no mention of it which is accounted for if they at Rome knew nothing of such an Episcopate. The statements of the two fathers may represent a growing tradition which had some foundation. While it is true that the most powerful interests in the Church were enlisted in its favor it does not follow that it has no basis in fact. Yet when one reads St. Clement's treatise on *Quis Dives Salvetur* its language

seems to imply that St. John intended, not to establish a new order of the Christian ministry which had not been known before, but rather to give his sanction and blessing to the Churches, set in order what was confused and ordain their clergy for them. It can hardly be regarded as "proven" that the Episcopate of subsequent times was instituted by St. John, or by any other Apostle. So, whether it be true or not—God only knows—it cannot justly serve as a basis for the extreme claims of the *Jure Divino* theory of the Episcopate. They need a more substantial basis than a "perhaps."

While it is evident from the authors quoted that the "Bishops" ordained by St. John after his return from Patmos were placed in a position superior to that of those ordained by him before the exile it is to be remembered that the terms Bishop and Presbyter were both used for the same officer in the Churches and the ordination of an Elder was also the ordination of a Bishop. From I Tim. v, 17, we learn that there were two kinds of service rendered by Elders; and those who excelled in teaching and preaching were to be "reckoned worthy of double honor." The other service may have been that of administration when the Elder was acting as Bishop. Until the ordinations spoken of by Tertullian and Clement we read only of the ordination of Elders. By Tertullian's day the difference in the nature of the services rendered had produced a difference in Orders. Instead of Elders who labored in administration and supervision we have Bishops; while those who labored in word and doctrine continued to be

called Elders or Presbyters. Ignatius was, as he calls himself, a Presbyter by Orders; but as the supervisor or ruler of a Church he was also a Bishop in the general sense of the word. It is probable that the work of administration grew in importance as the congregations increased in membership and in numbers. As the Elders who acted as Bishops kept the rolls and had charge of the correspondence with other Churches the maintenance of order and brotherly relations was largely in their hands and the Presbyter-Bishop's responsibilities grew accordingly. In the absence of contemporary evidence we can only conjecture the course of events and I venture the following suggestion.

After the death of St. John, Ignatius felt that the Presbyter-Bishops who had been last ordained by St. John, (the last survivor of the Twelve) ; those whom he ordained after receiving the Revelation and who were his legacy to the Church, were best fitted to take up the burden of oversight which the Holy Apostle had laid down; and thus the order of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters came into being. He himself clung to the time-honored title of Presbyter to which he had been ordained (probably) by St. John, but he urges obedience to these Bishops or Presbyters who had been specially designated for the work of oversight and administration as essential to the welfare of the Church. May it not be the case that in view of the assignment of these Presbyter-Bishops last ordained by St. John, to the special work and responsibility of oversight and administration, they are said to have been or-

dained Bishops instead of Elders, although the ordination had been the usual one for Elders? From the facts connected with their ordination they were counted worthy above other Presbyters of perpetuating the apostolic Ministry and by the time of Irenæus were regarded as successors of the Apostles. Ordination at their hands was more sacred than by the laying on of other hands of the Presbytery, and other consequences followed which need not detain us here.

Ignatius, Polycarp and Irenæus are always spoken of in writings after their day as Bishops appointed by St. John, or as deriving their authority from him. With them, and others in the same line, a new or Apostolic Episcopate, so called, seems to have been developed in Asia Minor, however it may have originated.

In Europe there had been no such intimate association with "the Twelve" as in Syria and Asia Minor. St. Paul and Barnabas, and possibly St. Peter in Rome, had labored there, but the work attributed to St. John of establishing a more rigid organization in Asia Minor was not at once extended to that continent. The claim of the New Episcopal Order to superiority was probably not even in Asia cheerfully conceded by all the Presbyters, or Bishops who had previously been in control. I think this may account for the strong language used by St. Ignatius and St. Irenæus. They were insisting upon what even some of the Asian Churches were reluctant to accept.

This is the place where contemporary evidence is most desirable, and the nearest to it is the Epistles of St. Ig-

natus. (About A. D. 110.) Here I first find the Ministry described as consisting of "Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons." It is not necessary to raise any question about his own Orders in this matter. He himself deriving his authority from St. John, as subsequent ecclesiastical History states, though he does not claim apostolic authority, or commission, must have been disturbed by the condition of Churches which were in more or less confusion. His strong language suits an unsettled state of affairs. The traditions must be preserved, heretics resisted, and false teachings whether of Jewish or Gentile origin must be corrected. It is likely that the persecutions by the civil authorities had broken up some of the Churches, at least temporarily, and produced confusion in all. A strong organization was needed. It was of less importance how and by what agency Bishops were appointed than that their authority be recognized. So he leaves it undetermined whether St. John or the Churches created the new ecclesiastical order. At the same time the many versions of his Epistles as we have them, some long, and some short, deprive them of some of their evidential value. It looks as though the letters had been subsequently depended upon to serve a purpose; and they may have been later "amended" or "enlarged" or "explained" by interpolations, in order to strengthen the new form of government by his saintly authority.

As I have not access here to the originals of the Epistles of St. Ignatius I have consulted the translations of Arch-

bishop Wake. In all of them, except that to the Romans where I find no statement in regard to "Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons," these officers hold a prominent place. To the Trallians, Ignatius says, "Without Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons there is no Church." Again he says to them, "Who does anything without the Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons is not pure in his conscience." To the Philadelphians he says, "I cried with a loud voice, Attend to the Bishop, to the Presbyters and to the Deacons." To the Smyrnaeans he says, "Without a Bishop it is not lawful to baptize, nor celebrate the Holy Communion." And again to the same, "See that ye follow the Bishop even as Christ Jesus does the Father, and the Presbytery as ye would the Apostles. Do ye also reverence the Deacons, etc." "Let the laity be subject to the Deacons; the Deacons to the Presbyters; the Presbyters to the Bishop; the Bishops to Christ, even as He is to the Father." These are only a few phrases interspersed in certain chapters where they do not always seem consonant with the context. The recurrence of such phrases, so different from anything we have met with before, naturally gives rise to a suspicion that what the writer is urging upon the Churches is something new, or that the phrases are interpolations. It is difficult to reconcile them, whether they were written by the venerable saint or inwritten by a later hand, with the existence of a well established and accepted polity. To my mind they indicate the attempt to enforce something with which his correspondents were, at least, not familiar. It is unfortunate that he does not

tell us how the new Order originated and by what authority it was created.

Apparently the organization of the Church as described by St. Ignatius was completed in his own day in some parts of Christendom to meet the pressing needs of a rapidly growing, but insufficiently organized society, when the inspired prophet and evangelist who had been the individual directors of Church affairs were to give place to the administrator "whose qualifications lay in his relation to the institution." On the earthly side the Church has no existence apart from the men and women who form it. Hence there were dissensions, ambitions, and disorders as in all human societies. Diotrefes loved to have the pre-eminence (3 John 9) and the Nicolaitanes taught a doctrine which St. John hated (Rev. ii, 15) while without were persecutions from the government and the hatred of the people. Only a strong hand could preserve the requisite peace.

It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the Episcopate extolled by St. Ignatius is not the diocesan Episcopate but a local or parish Episcopate. St. Irenæus, an Asiatic of two or three generations later in the order of succession ascribed to St. John, severely arraigns those who deny the apostolicity or refuse to submit to the authority of the Episcopate. So it seems that there were those who were reluctant to accept it even as late as in Irenæus' day.

Within the last thirty years some new testimony has been obtained from Bishop Bryennios' publication of

“ The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.” The late Dr. C. Taylor, Master of St. John’s College, in Cambridge, England, assigns this document to the time of Justin Martyr, about A. D. 140—others place it earlier—while it is contended by many that it was for several centuries a standard of instruction and was subjected to many revisions to meet new exigencies. Dr. Taylor points out, as any reader of it will see for himself, that at that time (sometime after St. Ignatius), the “ organization of the Church ” was still “ in solution.”

About the year A. D. 200 Episcopacy in some form generally prevailed. “ In some form;” for I am persuaded that it was later than this that the apostolic Episcopate contended for by St. Irenæus and others, the new Episcopate ascribed to St. John and deriving its authority from our Lord through tactual succession from that Apostle, and not from a congregation, or from Presbyters, superseded all other forms of Church government and became universal. I believe that the ambiguity of the term Episcopus for a considerable period has been the cause of much controversy. The monarchical form of state government favored Episcopacy. Episcopacy in whatever form, had been generally established to meet the needs of the Church, but in the Chor-Episcopi we still find traces of the former parity of Presbyters and Bishops; and perhaps in the Autokephalæ we have traces of the survival of Sees which maintained their right to appoint their own Bishops in their own way until a late date.

The following are well known extracts from the Chris-

tian Fathers on the original parity of Bishops and Presbyters in the days of the Apostles, and some early views of the rise, or institution of the Episcopate. An extract is also given from Irenæus (A. D. 198) who takes the view which has been so largely accepted and which prevailed unquestioned for so many centuries that Bishops were appointed by the Apostles as their successors.

Clement of Rome (A. D. 93-101), seems to have regarded himself as a Presbyter. The conflicting statements as to who was the first Bishop of Rome, Linus or Clement (and where does Anacletus, or Cletus, come in?) and other considerations, lead me to take Clement's word for it, that he was a Presbyter—or, if you prefer it, a Presbyter-Bishop but not what may be called an "Apostolic Bishop." It does not appear from his Epistle to the Corinthians that there was any Apostolic Bishop, *i. e.*, a Bishop in our understanding of the term, a single Bishop deriving his authority from an Apostle, in the Church at Corinth. In the 42nd. Chapter of the first Epistle he specifies two orders, synonomous with Presbyters or Elders in the Christian-Jewish Synagogue, and Deacons. "Therefore (the Apostles), preaching through countries and cities appointed the first fruits (of their labors) having tested them by the Spirit, as Bishops and Deacons of those who were about to believe" and in Chapter 44 he makes Bishops and Presbyters the same officers. "For our sin is not small if we throw out of the oversight (or Episcopate), those who blamelessly and holily offered the gifts. Blessed are the Presbyters who having already

finished their course have obtained a fruitful and complete release."

I venture to recall attention to the fact that Ignatius' Epistle to the Romans is singularly free from the assertions found in his other Epistles in regard to the universality, or necessity of three orders in the Ministry. The two saintly men, Clement and Ignatius, were contemporaries, but it seems from the documents that while the Episcopal polity had been established in Asia Minor it had not yet been definitely established in Rome; or if there was a Bishop in Rome his position was not the same as that of Ignatius in Antioch.

Chrysostom Hom. ix, on Ep. ad Tim. "In old times the Presbyters were called Bishops and the Ministers (or Deacons), of Christ, and the Bishops Presbyters."

Irenæus, who came from Asia Minor where the Apostolic Episcopate had, it is claimed, been established by St. John at least a hundred years before his day, and who is reckoned a Bishop in the Johannean line, does not seem to have been aware of the former parity of those called Presbyters and Bishops. He speaks sometimes as though the Presbyters were the keepers of apostolic tradition; and then he calls upon the Bishops for the establishment of the truth. Probably the first were the popular, the second the official transmitters of the Faith. He is said to have been the first to promulgate the theory of the Apostolic Succession, though it seems to have been intimated earlier by Clement of Rome. His statement suggests the manner in which the theory of the Apostolic Succession, if

it is not historically established, may have grown up as a necessary inference from the nature and duties of the Episcopal office as the keeper of the truth.

If the Apostles had provided for the preservation of our Lord's teachings either by special instruction of chosen men or by having them written down for succeeding generations, then the custodians of those traditions or records would be the successors of the Apostles for maintaining the Faith in its integrity. (2 Tim. ii: 2.) Apostolic appointment of such officers seems reasonable and was sooner or later assumed.

Irenæus iii, 3. 1. "In every Church all who wish to see the truth have before them the tradition of the Apostles clearly manifested throughout the whole world; and we have it in our power to name (or number) those who were *instituted by the Apostles Bishops in the Churches*, and their successors, even to ourselves, who taught no such thing as they deliriously maintain" (about 198 A. D.). Ignatius seems to have been ignorant of this claim when he wrote his epistles and so urgently pressed the acceptance of Bishops on the several Asian Churches.

Jerome, Commentary on Titus i, v, 5. "Therefore the Presbyter is the same as the Bishop and before that by the instigation of the devil factions were made (or brought into) religion, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the Churches were governed by a common council of Presbyters. But when everyone began to reckon those whom he had baptized as his own (disciples) instead of Christ's

it was decreed (by whom?) throughout the world that one chosen from the Presbyters should be set over the others, to whom the care of the whole Church should be assigned, and the seeds of schism be removed. If anyone thinks that it is my own opinion and not the teaching of the Scriptures that Bishops and Presbyters are one—this name (presbyter or elder) because of age, that name (bishop) on account of office—let him read again the words of the Apostle to the Philippians, saying: Paul and Timothy, servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus who are at Philippi with the Bishops and Deacons, grace be unto you and peace, etc. With the fathers Presbyters and Bishops were the same. Gradually indeed, all the care was conferred upon one in order that the nurseries of dissensions might be rooted out. Therefore just as the Presbyters know that it is by the usage of the Church that they are subject to him that is over them, so let the Bishops know that they are superior to Presbyters rather by custom than by the reality of divine ordering.

“At Alexandria from Mark the Evangelist to Bishops Heraclas (A. D. 240), and Dionysius the Presbyters were always accustomed to name one chosen from themselves and elevated to a higher grade as Bishop,* just as

* Jerome tells us nothing about the consecration of the Bishop of Alexandria, but Eutychus in the tenth century confirming Jerome's statement adds that the Eleven other Presbyters placed their hands upon his head in blessing and created him patriarch. (*Cujus Capiti reliqui undecim manus imponentes ipsi benedicerent et Patriarcham Crearent.*) Migne Patr. Græc, CXI.

an army makes its emperor, or as the Deacons choose from among themselves someone whom they have known to be industrious and call him Archdeacon. For what does a Bishop do which a Presbyter may not do, with the exception of ordination? ”

Merely to say that St. John created the Episcopate does not, to my mind, tell the whole story. Ecclesiastical or congregational Bishops had, I believe, been appointed by the first disciples in Europe in the absence of Apostles, merely, as officers of the Ecclesiæ, in Alexandria by the council of Presbyters, and now we have apostolic Bishops attributed to St. John. Congregational Bishops, Presbyterian Bishops and apostolic Bishops. Surely the Bishop was a recognized need of the Church.

Granting that St. John established the Episcopate it was not the first act of his apostleship, but his concluding work. It was the summary and completion of what had grown up and been evolved during the first century, in the way of Church government. It was not an arbitrary act unrelated to the actual state of affairs or to what had preceded. The Ecclesiæ had Bishops by Congregational or Presbyterian action, and the venerable Apostle, the Beloved Disciple, sanctions the office, possibly he enlarges its powers and consecrates it to be the deposit of the authority which was committed to the Apostles. The Episcopate was not imposed by St. John, but already existed and he sanctioned and regulated it. We read in Acts xv, 23, that the Apostles, Elders and Brethren together expressed the decision of the Church on a certain matter.

So in the establishment of the Episcopate there was the concurrence of the Democratic (Congregational), the Aristocratic (Presbyterian) and the Monarchial (Apostolic) authority; and by it we have a combination of all the three forms of government considered by philosophers as possible and practicable. Neither one is independent of the others. The concurrence of the people and the Clergy in St. John's institution of the Episcopate should not be forgotten when we consider its claims. I do not understand that he commanded it to be made universal and perpetually unchangeable; but that he instituted it where he was requested to do so, accepting, regulating and sanctioning what had already been done in that direction, and it spread naturally until it embraced substantially the whole Church.

The trend of affairs from the beginning was towards the Episcopate. The end was reached in such a way as to protect the Church from possible abuses such as the Apostles, according to the Roman Clement, feared; but it is not probable that they created an irresponsible oligarchy or an unchangeable caste in the Church in order to secure the Church from abuses of its offices. They left the authority with the Church itself.

A word in regard to the extension of the Historic Episcopate. As time went on the need of uniformity became more pressing and the greater efficiency of the Episcopal polity caused its rapid extension. It seems probable that when many congregations had been formed in one city, the "Elder" or "Presbyter" in charge of

the Mother Church became by natural development the Episcopus, or ruling Presbyter of the Churches in that city. As the Episcopal organization came into fuller operation this officer took the name signifying the function which he discharged. The word Bishop ceased to be synonymous with Presbyter and became a Title. I do not find that another ordination or consecration was added at first. The Presbyter, or one of the Episcopi, was elevated above his former peers by the voice of the Ecclesia, as in Alexandria. Soon, however, it would be felt that there was a difference between the apostolically appointed Bishops and those appointed by the Churches or Clergy and this would awaken a sense of inferiority on the part of the latter who would naturally seek equalization by an ordination at the hands of those in Apostolic Succession. And here it is to be recollected that it was several generations after Episcopacy became general that the provision was adopted which regulated the appointment and consecration of Bishops in one uniform manner, but I think the Episcopate was originally extended among the Churches very much as Bishop Brown now proposes.

A strong and uniform organization in the various Ecclesiæ was necessary to prevent the Christians from falling into warring camps, to establish the unity necessary to the perpetuation of the Church in the face of persecutions, to preserve Christian doctrine, to maintain peace and order, and when the exigencies of the times called for it to weld into a great and mighty ecclesiastical State the scattered Churches of the Roman Empire in preparation

for the time of supreme trial when the Empire would be shattered into fragments under the blows of the Barbarians.

An institution which by its intrinsic character is fit for the highest and holiest service and by this fitness secures universal adoption in the Churches of God and beneficently controls their work for centuries may well commend itself for voluntary adoption by those who would deny that it was established by apostolic fiat as unconditionally, perpetually and universally indispensable.

It is outside of my line of inquiry to trace the manner in which the local Episcopate came to absorb the powers which had been previously divided among the Presbyters or Bishops, Deacons and Laity and became diocesan. The process was a natural one. No doubt the ordinary motives which move men to seek aggrandizement were at work, but we should remember that care and responsibility were the essential attributes of the office. The circumstances were such as moved men to put upon the Episcopate all it would bear. The persecutions, heresies and distractions of the times made the Bishops the champions as they were the almoners and representatives of the Church. It is not strange that after a hundred years of struggle for the faith, during which time they were prodigal of their lives, they, as well as the people, should have come to regard the Episcopate as of the essence of the Church. As the line of heroic Bishops who had died in the arena, or by cord, axe or faggot lengthened from year to year; as captives in the mines were redeemed again and

again by selling the holy vessels from the very altar, as the increasing multitudes of the starving were fed from the Bishop's table from day to day, we are not so much surprised that Cyprian should write (A. D. 250, Ep. 68), "You ought to know that the Bishop is in the Church and the Church in the Bishop; and if any one be not with the Bishop he is not in the Church."

This was written in the heroic age of the Church by one of its great heroes and martyrs who lived in a constant state of exaltation anticipating the death that he knew would sooner or later be inflicted upon him because he was a Bishop, and therefore a representative of the Church. It is not strange that he should magnify his office for he knew its full significance to both Christians and pagans. His words describe the *actual state of affairs at the moment*. It is held by some that they express, also, the fundamental doctrine of the Episcopate at all times; that the Church is contained in the Episcopate, and that only by submitting to the Episcopate, can a man enter into the Church and into covenant relations with God. If he is saved outside of the Church it is only by "uncovenanted grace." Yet St. Paul does not seem to have considered a recognition of his apostolic authority as necessary to the effectual preaching of Christ. (Phil. i, 15-18.) This is the doctrine so obnoxious to our fellow Christians and to which attention was challenged in the fourth article of the "Quadrilateral." The Rubric at the end of the confirmation office, which was made for quite a different purpose, is sometimes pointed out in proof of

this claim. It is hardly necessary to say that if Cyprian's statement means that salvation from sin and eternal death is conditioned on obedience to some apostolic Bishop it belongs to another age and to other conditions than those in which we live. The Church of God was not extinct in Scotland, or in certain German and Scandinavian States, when Bishops had been expelled. The rise and development of the Papacy which St. Cyprian vigorously opposed was largely due to circumstances and, *mutatis mutandis*, the language of Cyprian is its language. Perhaps the claims of both were justifiable under some circumstances, but are no longer so.

What persecutions did for the aggrandizement of Bishops in St. Cyprian's day was completed by the union of the Church with the State when by the expansion of the Episcopate they became Princes of the Empire. Thereafter none questioned the claim of Cyprian for a thousand years.

Among the Christian institutions none has done more for the elevation of mankind than the Historic Episcopate. It sat by the cradles of the nations of modern Europe and led them in the path of civilization, enlightenment, humanity and spiritual life. The part taken by Bishops in State affairs in Europe, from which many evils grew, was a necessity of the situation. The Clergy were the learned men of the times, the only men competent to deal with laws and civil administration. They rendered great services to the people to whom their service was due, by their work in civil affairs. The governments were

monarchial. The Church had become monarchial, Papal. Every ecclesiastical question was also a political question, and every political question had its ecclesiastical aspect. What must happen from such an alliance of Church and State? What has happened to non-Episcopal Churches when their officers became also political placemen? The Episcopate was not the cause of the evil but the situation in which it was placed. There is also another side to be remembered—the services rendered to the poor, the sick, the weak and the defenseless. The Bishops were for many centuries the only champions of the oppressed. The right of Asylum, their Orphanages, Hospitals, Schools—not too dangerously advanced, it is true—and personal Ministries stemmed the torrent of horrors, and brighten the dark pages of a history otherwise full of the welter of violence, rapine and murder. Many of them paid with their lives the price of opposing the soldiers of fortune in their forays, or the violent nobles in their monstrous exactions. They were for centuries recognized as the God-appointed friend of all in need and the Order has no cause to blush for its record. Men who meet and redress the evils of our own day as efficiently as the Bishops met those in the dark centuries of our era soon find the same power voluntarily placed in their hands.

How came it to pass that the Episcopate is to-day rejected by the Churches and people of great nations who are enjoying the fruits of Episcopal toil and teaching? And why is only a small number of our own people attached

to its cause? Its origin and history promise better things than we see at present.

In answer to this question we may say in a few words that the Episcopate, after a struggle, was finally reduced to a function of the Papacy and became its instrument for good or evil for many centuries, and where the Papacy was rejected the Episcopate, save in England and perhaps one or two other places was rejected with it. Their conduct in regard to the Reformation shook people's confidence in their claim to apostolical commission and authority.

IV.

VIEW TAKEN OF BISHOPS BY THE REFORMERS.

FOR OVER a thousand years the Western Church had been governed from Rome mostly through the Bishops. There was "a coercive sense of ingrained usage" in Christendom. Every inherited thought made Bishops the channel of Divine authority, and to question their position or seriously to fault their conduct bordered upon sacrilege and there does not seem to have been any intention or desire to attack their order or reduce their power.

In the following citations I have been obliged to de-

pend upon Froude (who has been sharply criticised), as I have not access to the work of Erasmus.

The following extract from his "Life and Letters of Erasmus" is added as showing that the contention of the Reformers when they began their work, was for a moral reformation, not a change in ecclesiastical polity. At first they were satisfied that it could not be bettered, however it may have arisen. The Protestant Churches with their non-Episcopal polities (save in a few countries and especially in England) were brought into being by the refusal on the part of the Western Church to effect such moral Reformation. As the Episcopate had been regarded as of the essence of the Church it was felt at Rome that if the Reformers had no Bishops among them the movement must collapse. This made England with her Bishops in a Reformed Church the Bulwark of the Reformation in the eyes of Rome.

We read in Froude's 15th Lecture on "The Life and Letters of Erasmus," that "Luther had at first desired nothing beyond a reform of scandal and immorality." And again we read in Lecture XI: "Luther had not meant to raise such a tempest. He had merely protested against scandal. If the Pope would have stopped the sale of the Indulgences and condemned the grossness of Tetzels and his doings, Luther, much as he disliked the teaching and practice of the Church in general, would have said no more and his own share in the revolt would have ended."

In a letter from Luvian, dated January 28th, 1529,

Erasmus writes: "I know not how Popes came by their authority. I suppose it was as Bishops came by theirs. Each Presbytery chose one of its members as President to prevent divisions. Bishops similarly found it expedient to have a chief Bishop to check rivalries and defend the Church against the secular powers."

In another letter dated April 1st, 1529, he says: "I have wished that the Popes and Cardinals were more like the Apostles, but never in thought have I desired their offices abolished."

In his comment on St. Matthew xxiii on the Scribes and Pharisees, we read, "You may find a Bishop here and there who teaches the Gospel, though life and teaching have small agreement. But what shall we say of those who destroy the Gospel itself, make laws at their will, tyrannize over the laity and measure right and wrong with rules constructed by themselves? Of those who entangle their flocks in the meshes of crafty cunning, who sit not in the seat of the Gospel, but in the seat of Caiaphas and Simon-Magus—prelates of evil who bring disgrace and discredit on their worthier Brethren?"

So far were many of the Reformers from desiring a change in the Polity of the Church that they looked to the Church dignitaries, and especially to the Bishops to lead in the work of reform. But on the Continent when the test came, these latter, although many of them were favorably disposed towards a Reformation, stood by the Papal Court corruptions and all. Reading a history of the councils of Pisa, Constance, Ferrara and The Lat-

eran, one can hardly fail to be impressed with the conviction that the ecclesiastics feared the loss of their powers and privileges more than they disliked the corruptions of the Church. As the strife waxed warm between the parties the palaces of the Bishops came to be regarded, justly or unjustly, as the centres of the tyranny and oppression and corruption under which the Church and people were groaning and the Reformers were compelled to choose between a Reformed Church without Bishops or Bishops without a Reformed Church. When this issue became apparent, many noble men, like Erasmus himself, returned sadly to their allegiance to the Church as it was in its deep corruptions. It was the Temple, though fouled with all uncleanness. But there were sturdier folk than these who, despairing of any Reformation within the Church, felt that they "must obey God rather than men," even though the men were clad in the robes of the Priesthood and sat in the seats of the angels. They chose then as they would choose to-day in such a cruel dilemma; even though the men, in the blindness of their hearts, like the Jewish authorities of our Lord's day, spake in the name of God, and, as they thought, by divine authority. No, it was not wholly the fault of the Reformers that Bishops were not found among them on the Continent; and they believed that God could do His blessed work for men even though His accredited Ministers should fail Him; and they went bravely forth.

The attitude of the English Church towards the Episco-

pate is important to us because the Institution came to us through the English Church and, indeed, goes by the name of the "Anglican Episcopate." The English Reformers were divided in their views. Was it instituted *Jure Divino* and made perpetual and indispensable in the Church? Or was it created by ecclesiastical enactment for "the edifying and well governing of the Church," or did it exist subject to the royal pleasure? The general opinion seems to have favored the *Jure Divino* theory, so far as I can judge; but the view that the Episcopate is an ecclesiastical creation was held by many devout and scholarly men. The third view, that it is of State establishment, is less wide-spread than it was in the early years of the last century before the days of Newman and Pusey. Hallam in a note in his "Constitutional History of England" 1625-29, says that "Cranmer and some of the original founders of the Anglican Church far from maintaining the divine and indispensable right of Episcopal Government, held Bishops and Priests to be the same order." "Were the Lutherans for lack of Bishops of Apostolic Succession, and the Calvinists who had abolished the order, aliens and schismatics with whom no communion was to be held, or were they brethren of the same faith?"

Bacon says that "some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonorable and derogatory speech and censure of the Churches abroad; and that so far as that some of our men ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful Ministers." Natives

regularly ordained abroad in the Presbyterian Churches were admitted to hold preferment in England. Bishop Aylmer seems to have been the first to object to them, but the practice continued until the act of uniformity in 1662. Bancroft seems to have been less positive in maintaining the divine right of Episcopacy in his famous sermon (1588) than we should have expected. Even as late as 1634 Laud was "reproved" by the University of Oxford for maintaining, or having maintained, that there could be no Church without Bishops. Previous to his day Archbishop Whitgift told Cartwright, who maintained that the discipline of Christ's Church which is necessary for all times is delivered by Christ and set down in Holy Scriptures," that "Church discipline and ceremony are indifferent." It was at a later day that it was found best to meet the Presbyterian claim of divine right by reviving the claim of an exclusive Episcopal polity.

Usher and Williams (about 1640) proposed to reduce the Bishop to the position of president of a college of Presbyters, differing from them *gradu, non ordine*, and acting with their concurrence in ordination and jurisdiction.

Hooker's position is well known. Ritual observances are variable according to the discretion of ecclesiastical rulers, and no certain form of polity is set down in Scripture as indispensable for a Christian church. He contended for Episcopacy as an apostolical institution and always preferable, when circumstances would allow its preservation, to the model of the Calvinistic congregations.

During the whole period of the Reformation in England till 1662, or perhaps, better, 1688, we are impressed with the overpowering influence of the Crown. The Reformation had been forwarded by the King who declared himself head of the English Church. In all subsequent legislation the maintenance and strengthening of the throne seems to have been the predominating factor. Parker and Bancroft (I think) thought of resigning because the Queen threatened to absorb the ecclesiastical, not to say the religious, power in the royal. James the first, it is said, recalling his experience in Scotland with the Presbyterians, wanted a docile Episcopate to buttress the throne. Recalling the support of Kings by Bishops he believed them necessary to the maintenance of his power, if not his place. "No Bishop, no King," he is said to have declared. As long as he could appoint the Bishops he felt secure. There were those like Laud, who believed in the *Jure Divino* doctrine of the Episcopate, others, like Cranmer, who believed it originally of ecclesiastical institution, others that it depended upon the will of the king whose divine right was acknowledged by all.

But in the Providence of God it has happened that in England "under the pressure of the Crown and the civil authorities," as one says, or "by the protection of the government," as another states it—you choose your point of view and phrase the fact accordingly—several Bishops, joined in the Reformation and thus provided a way for the restoration of the historic order to the Protestant Churches when the time should be ripe for it. At first

the defect in the Protestant polity seemed likely to be soon supplied. From political considerations, or from the feeling that the Reformation of the Church must be strengthened at all hazards—for a long time Clergymen from the Continent who had received Presbyterian ordination were permitted to hold places in the Church of England. There was intercommunion between the English and the Reformed Churches of the Continent. But there came a change of policy on the part of the government and soon a vigorous party grew up which refused to believe that it was possible to be good Christians and to have an Episcopal polity in the Church of God: so bitter were the sufferings which were inflicted through the instrumentality of the Bishops during the Reformation, first on the Continent and now in England, largely due, I am persuaded, to an erroneous theory of the Episcopate. This party was irreconcilable. For its suppression the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662 and it cut off the Church of England from communion with every other Church in Christendom. Under the control of the State and the pressure of its patronage the Church could not act if she wished to. Now, this act of Parliament does not bind the Church in America. In fact, about the only Churches in the world which are free to act with an eye single to the glory of God, are those of this country, and I believe we must look to the voluntary action of the free Churches in this country for the restoration of unity.

V.

IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION IN ITS
RELATION TO ECCLESIASTICAL UNITY.

IT WILL be gathered from what has been said already that I regard the Protestant Churches as in much the same position as many of the early Churches to which I have referred which could not have an apostolic Episcopal Ministry at first and were compelled to organize as they could. But the problem before us is not the same, for while the forms in which the Churches appear to-day resemble in some respects those of the early Churches they are due to radically different causes. Then they represented different stages in the organization of Elements into a whole. Now they are due to a violent disruption of a whole into organized fragments of dissimilar forms. For their reunion the common elemental life of Christian love must reassert its supremacy and men must discriminate between what is indispensable and what is variable, and of the variables they should choose what is best. On this ground Hooker would give preference to the Episcopal polity. It is the Historic polity, but if it be pressed as essential because of the *Jure Divino* theory connected with its historicity and so be made an occasion of separation

instead of a means of uniting the Churches, we should examine carefully whether a theory so disastrous in its effects may not be a mistaken one.

From the time of the Reformation at least, two views have been taken of the Episcopate by men equally godly, equally sincere and equally learned. One is that it is "the indispensable channel of Divine grace" and necessary to the being of the Church; the other that it is simply best for the well-being of the Church. But while the two schools differ in their view of the origin and character of the Episcopate both admit, I believe, that it has proved to be on the whole the best organization for maintaining the faith in its integrity, for preserving unity, securing peace and order, and developing systematic activity in the work of missions and the extension of the Church. In view of the causes which gave rise to the institution of the Episcopate originally, and the similar circumstances in which we are placed, the extreme view which shuts us out from brotherly relations and intercommunion with our fellow Christians in a matter on which there can be no present agreement cannot be insisted upon consistently with the claims of the supreme law of charity. What is so manifestly a debatable claim cannot be made the ultimate ground of unity.

We who possess the Episcopate should not forget that the government of the Church as it was finally instituted by St. John (?) in Asia Minor, and thence extended throughout Christendom came into being by the *ordinary action of Divine Providence* and the officers of the Church

were the organs of its corporate life. The Episcopate is not then a rigid cast-iron institution which compels everything to bend to its supremacy. It is in itself the most flexible order in the Ministry. It is as adaptable to the work of the Salvation Army as to that in the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome. From the time of its institution it appears in history in every department and detail of Christian work. In the old British and Irish Churches it was most purely apostolic because engaged solely in the work of preaching the Gospel. After the purely evangelical Bishops came the formation and care of individual Churches or groups of Churches where administration and rule gradually absorbed the Bishop's energies more and more. When they ascended the thrones of Princes political cares predominated, and in the Mediæval Papacy the exercise of the spiritual office was reduced to a minimum.

It is useless to attempt to ignore the fact that while all Christians own the need of unity, deploring "our unhappy divisions;" while all confess the need of co-operation for greater efficiency in the work of Christ; while all agree that the complete historic organization was the only one which, humanly speaking, enabled the Church to weather the storms which wrecked the Roman Empire and reconstruct society on a Christian basis, yet many pages of subsequent history are a record of evils indissolubly associated in the popular mind with the hierarchy.

So for this and other reasons, openly stated, it happens that while there is little difficulty with the first three

planks of the "Quadrilateral" all the Protestant Churches have refused to accept that relating to Bishops. Men who are anxious for unity declare that they fear the development of arbitrary power as the natural result of a belief in High Church doctrine of the Apostolic Succession. In reply to the argument from history they allege that even though Bishops be of apostolic order, the order has forfeited its right to exist by abuse of power in the past.

It may fairly be urged, however, that the evils complained of, were not due to Episcopal organization, but to human nature and to royal institutions under which it had to live and work. They are such as any kind of organization may develop.

If we squarely face the question whether the Episcopate is incompatible with a democratic society, an objection sometimes brought against it, we shall find, I think, that it was originally rather an evidence of the exercise of a democratic right. It did not come into being under the patronage of the Roman Emperor, but it grew out of the exercise of the free volition of the early disciples in the absence of all officers. They appointed their own Episcopi. In retaining the popular name of Bishop, instead of the ecclesiastical name of Presbyter for the highest officer of the Church St. John (?) seems to have tacitly, if not avowedly recognized the right in the people to a decisive voice in the appointment of Church officers. When the secular authorities took the Church into the service of the State, Bishops became subject to them

politically, but they themselves were lay members of the Church. The King of England is to-day like Constantine, "a Bishop outside of the Church." I believe that the Church has never abandoned its right of participation in some form in the appointment of Bishops.

The importance of the question of uniformity in Church organization cannot be easily overestimated. The United States requires that every State have a Republican form of Government as the condition of being admitted to the union. It is a vital necessity. A Federal State composed of monarchical, aristocratic and democratic units would soon be in as broken a condition as the Protestant Churches of to-day. It is true that Episcopal Churches in the East are not at unity. But they are separated by race, or doctrine, or political causes. In America the real differences between the Protestant Churches is in Church organization and government, and a uniform government would do much to bring them together. To-day the bonds of ecclesiastical exclusion and seclusion are relaxing. The desire for reunion is in the air. The Reformed Churches are largely indifferent to our apostolic claims, or avowedly hostile. Alas, alas! They who transmitted the priceless heritage of the Historic Episcopate to our day have weighted it with such disabilities that it is regarded as undesirable by those who we believe would be blessed by its possession!

If, then, it is proposed out of Christian love to our Brethren and for the unifying and strengthening of the Kingdom of our Blessed Lord, to offer to extend to them

our peculiar inheritance in the Church, can we expect them to receive and hold it rigidly on the lines of the Mediæval or of the English State Church whose traditions still linger with us? Or on a theory which is becoming daily weaker in the presence of historical inquiry? Or, since they are Bishopless through the action of the Episcopate itself in times past, and God has abundantly blessed them and shown that He is not bound to the Episcopate to accomplish His blessed purpose, should we not consider soberly whether it cannot be better adapted to American life than it is?

Remembering that the Episcopate arose in God's Providence to meet the exigencies of the situation then existing, as the practical solution of a problem and not as the promulgation of a theory, I cannot believe that although it were sanctioned by St. John it is prescribed in an unalterable form, and given unchangeable powers for all time and under all circumstances.

In seeking the form or pattern for a uniform organization I believe that none can be better than that which in early days spread over the whole Church, and through successive generations showed itself efficient and sufficient to meet the requirements of our Blessed Lord's commission. Democratic in origin, venerable by its authority (even if it be not apostolic in sanction), and vital by the power of the Holy Spirit, the Historic Episcopate offers, I believe, the best center of unity for a divided Christendom. But it cannot be the Imperial Episcopate as Constantine made it for the support of his throne; nor even, I

fear, that of Cyprian; but rather an Episcopate of Service as it was at the first, and not of honor and privilege—for service and not personal rule, is what Christianity must always stand for. (Luke xxii, 26. John xiii, 14.)

Perhaps the time is come for Christians to “get together” again; but I fear not yet for many a long year. Nevertheless, a conciliatory attitude, a disposition to share with our brethren whatever we have which can contribute to the common good, a readiness to “give and take” can do no harm. We are the better for having offered the “Quadrilateral” even if it has not been accepted. Can we not go further without periling our heritage in the Church Universal?

It will be observed that this paper deals only with the question of the Apostolic Succession as exclusively in the Episcopate.

“OUR TRUST IN THE ALMIGHTY IS, THAT WITH US CONTENTIONS ARE NOW AT THEIR HIGHEST FLOAT, AND THAT THE DAY WILL COME (FOR WHAT CAUSE OF DESPAIR IS THERE?) WHEN THE PASSIONS OF FORMER ENMITY BEING ALLAYED, WE SHALL WITH TEN TIMES REDOUBLED TOKENS OF OUR UNFEIGNED RECONCILED LOVE, SHOW OURSELVES EACH TOWARD THE OTHER THE SAME WHICH JOSEPH AND THE BRETHREN OF JOSEPH WERE AT THE TIME OF THEIR INTERVIEW IN EGYPT. OUR COMFORTABLE EXPECTATION AND MOST THIRSTY DESIRE WHEREOF WHAT MAN SOEVER AMONGST YOU SHALL ANY WAY HELP TO SATISFY (AS WE MAY TRULY HOPE THERE IS NO ONE AMONGST YOU BUT SOME WAY OR OTHER WILL), THE BLESSINGS OF THE GOD OF PEACE, BOTH IN THIS WORLD AND IN THE WORLD TO COME, BE UPON HIM MORE THAN THE STARS OF THE FIRMAMENT IN NUMBER.”—*Preface to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Ch xi, 4.*

THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION.

LECTURE I.

THE ONLY BASIS POSSIBLE.

- I. A NOTABLE PROPHECY.
- II. REPUBLICANISM THE BASIS.
- III. THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

“ THIS CHURCH DOES NOT SEEK TO ABSORB OTHER COMMUNIONS, BUT RATHER, CO-OPERATING WITH THEM ON THE BASIS OF A COMMON FAITH AND ORDER, TO DISCOURTENANCE SCHISM, TO HEAL THE WOUNDS OF THE BODY OF CHRIST, AND TO PROMOTE THE CHARITY WHICH IS THE CHIEF OF CHRISTIAN GRACES AND THE VISIBLE MANIFESTATION OF CHRIST TO THE WORLD.”

—*From the Declaration of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Chicago in 1886, made in connection with the promulgation of the “Quadrilateral” Overture on Church Union.*

THE ONLY BASIS POSSIBLE.

I.

A NOTABLE PROPHECY.

“**T**HE WORLD will never be converted by a disunited Church.” In this generation, no sentence in any language, has been quoted more frequently, and in so many tongues, or has burned itself more deeply into the hearts of the followers of the Lord Jesus.

This epoch-making utterance did not immediately secure unanimous consent to the momentous truth to which it gave expression. On the contrary, like all prophecies of past ages, which contained the seed of a mighty revolutionary growth, it was, at first, rejected by the great majority. But now, there probably is not a single foreign, Protestant missionary of as much as three years' experience in the field, who does not often earnestly pray for the unification of the home Churches. For, as time goes on, all such missionaries realize that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the success of their evangelistic endeavors is, “our unhappy divisions.”

Yet the noble, heroic souls who are bearing the burden and heat of the day in the foreign mission fields, will have

to wait for the answer to their prayer, until we at home shall see and remedy the folly of our sectarian divisions. Thank God, the signs of the time indicate that the prayers for unity by the heroes and heroines of the foreign mission field, of whom the world is not worthy, will be answered. Everywhere, nowhere more than in the United States, the leaders in the Churches are seeing and acknowledging the unwisdom of the existing divisions of Protestant Christians.

The change of attitude, in both theory and practice, towards sectarianism, which has taken place within the quarter of a century, since the making of this now famous prophecy, will be regarded by all future generations as a most notable event in the progress of civilization. I give the eloquent passage from which this prophecy is quoted:

“ If it be the duty of the Church to represent her Lord among men, and if she faithfully performs that duty, it follows by an absolutely irresistible necessity that the unity exhibited in His Person must appear in her. She must not only be one, but visibly one in some distinct and appreciable sense, in such a sense that men shall not need to be told of it, but shall themselves see and acknowledge that her unity is real.

“ No doubt such unity may be, and is, consistent with great variety, with variety in the dogmatic expression of Christian truth, in regulations for Christian government, in forms of Christian worship, and in the exhibition of Christian life. It is unnecessary to speak of these things now. Variety and the right to differ have many advo-

cates. We have rather at present to think of unity and the obligation to agree. As regards these, it can hardly be denied that the Church of our time is flagrantly and disastrously at fault. The spectacle presented by her to the world is in direct and palpable contradiction to the unity of the Person of her Lord; and she would at once discover its sinfulness were she not too exclusively occupied with the thought of positive action *on* the world, instead of remembering that her primary and most important duty is to afford *to* the world a visible representation of her Exalted Head.

“In all her branches, indeed, the beauty of unity is enthusiastically talked of by her members, and not a few are never weary of describing the precious ointment in which the Psalmist beheld a symbol of the unity of Israel. Others, again, alive to the uselessness of talking where there is no corresponding reality, seek comfort in the thought that beneath all the divisions of the Church there is a unity which she did not make, and which she cannot unmake. Yet, surely, in the light of the truth now before us, we may well ask whether either the talking or the suggested comfort brings us nearer a solution of our difficulties. The one is so meaningless that the very lips which utter it might be expected to refuse their office. The other is true, although, according as it is used, it may either be a stimulus to amendment or a pious platitude; generally it is the latter.

“But neither the words about the beauty of unity, nor the fact of an invisible unity, avail to help us. What

the Church ought to possess is a unity which the eye can see. If she is to be a witness to her Risen Lord, she must do more than talk of unity, more than console herself with the hope that the world will not forget the invisible bond by which it is pleaded that all her members are bound together into one. Visible unity in one form or another is an essential mark of her faithfulness.

“The world will never be converted by a disunited Church. Even Bible circulation and missionary exertion upon the largest scale will be powerless to convert it, unless they are accompanied by the strength which unity alone can give. Let the Church of Christ once feel, in any measure corresponding to its importance, that she is the representative of the Risen Lord, and she will no longer be satisfied with mere outward action. She will see that her first and most imperative duty is to heal herself, that she may be able to heal others also.”—*Dr. Milligan, Resurrection of Our Lord, pp. 199-202.*

II.

REPUBLICANISM THE BASIS.

I.

THE CHURCHES can never be brought together on any but a very broad basis of doctrine and government. Any other basis has been rendered impossible by the multitudes of converts that have been made throughout Christendom by the expert historical

authorities who are working in the field of primitive Christianity. These, with a remarkable unanimity, represent that the Divine Layman did not teach a formal system of theology, or appoint a Sacerdotal, or even an official Ministry, or organize a Church or institute Sacraments.

By the light of the science of historical criticism many in all the Churches, not excepting even the Roman Church, are seeing that the Christian ministry, the Christian church, the Christian scriptures, the Christian creeds, even the Christian sacraments and, of course, all organizations of Christians into Churches, with their respective systems of theology and government, have come into being not as the result of God the Son's decree, but God the Father's providence, and God the Holy Spirit's influence.

Christianity, as we know it, is, then, the outcome of evolutionary processes, due to the co-operative efforts of God with Christian men and women to meet the requirements of new conditions, as they have arisen through the whole course of our era. These efforts with the readjustments and reorganizations, inevitably resulting from them, are destined to continue until the end of time.

There must be room in the future national Church, if ever we are to have such a Church, for many men and women of many minds, holding to many degrees of Sacerdotal "Catholicism" and also to many degrees of Republican Protestantism. The Church of the Future must be comprehensive enough to include those who, while holding to the supernaturalness of Jesus Christ and of the effect of His Incarnation, yet insist upon the naturalness

of the Church, and of the Ministry, and of the Sacraments, and of the Bible.

Room enough and to spare there certainly must be for those who in their view of God's mercy are Armenians, Calvinists, or Universalists. The Roman, Zwinglian and Lutheran doctrines of the Sacraments must alike be tolerated in that Church. This is also true of the distinctive doctrines of the Baptists, Methodists and Adventists. In short, the Church of the Future must be comprehensive enough to contain all the orthodox Churches, that is the Churches which accept Jesus as the God-Man Saviour of the world.

No existing system of theology or of ecclesiastical government can without great modification become the basis of Church union. The theology and government of the Church of the United States, as of all national Churches, will represent a new development of a living Christianity, even as the theologies and governments of all other Churches which have attained any considerable size or age represent such a development.

The Christians of our day and of future generations have just as much right to a restatement of "the faith once delivered to the saints," and to a reorganization of Christ's Church, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail, a restatement and reorganization that are in accord with their convictions and preferences, as the Christians of past generations had to the restatements and reorganizations which have occurred from time to time.

In all that I have to say in these lectures I proceed

upon the religious hypothesis that God still lives in heaven; that there is a living Divine Jesus at His right hand; that the Holy Ghost still proceeds from the Father, and the Son, and is just as really present, and just as much alive in the world to-day as He was on Pentecost; that the world has never had more Christians who are energized by an awakened and a developing Christ life than it has at the beginning of the twentieth century; that the Christians of this generation do not constitute dead Churches, and that, therefore, since we have, even though in earthen vessels, the Divine life there is no reason why we should be bound, hand and foot, by the precedents of the dead ages.

Let us charitably hope that they of past generations did their duty as best they could, in that state of life unto which it pleased God to call them, and that, since they have been gathered to their fathers, light perpetual has been shining upon them. In the past each generation in its turn wisely and necessarily built largely upon the foundation of preceding generations; but each built, if it acted wisely, and worked efficiently, chiefly for its own present and immediate future, without a slavish reference to what its predecessors had done.

We too, not only have a perfect right to build in accordance with our judgment and ideals; but this is what we must do, if we would fulfill the most glorious mission that has ever been entrusted to any people in all the centuries that have come and gone since man appeared on the earth.

II.

It is the object of this lecture to show that the only basis upon which the Churches can come together into the unity of which the Lord Jesus prophesied, for which He prayed, and upon which He hinged the salvation of the world is the basis of Gospel Republicanism of the purest type, and that the selection of this basis for Church union is justified by the history of organic Christianity.

Since the rise of the science of historical criticism, the history of the doctrines and institutions of the Christian religion has been largely rewritten. Let me give expression to the conviction that the time will come when the great biblical and historical critics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries will by common consent be placed on the same footing with the illustrious reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as being among the greatest benefactors that God, in His merciful Providence, has raised up to our race. These reformers and critics, having abandoned Sacerdotalism, have now for several generations been laying the foundation of Republicanism upon which alone Christianity can be reformed, reorganized and unified to the degree which is necessary to its universal extension and complete development.

It would be difficult for the busy man, who has not traversed the ground for himself, and who by the reading of three or four hours would know the generally accepted

facts and prevailing opinions respecting the Christian ministry, which were held by the leaders among the reformers and which are held by the chief of modern historical authorities, to discover a better statement of them in the whole of current literature than he will find in the Introduction and Appendix of this book.

Dr. George Williamson Smith's enviable reputation for learning and conservatism will, of course, give much weight to his contribution to this volume.

In the Appendix by "Anglican Presbyterian," which alone would merit for its anonymous author the distinction of being a learned and exact historical critic, will be found citations, with the chapter and verse, from the writings of the historical experts which strongly reinforce the doctrinal and historical basis upon which has been built the superstructure of the Level Plan for Church Union. His examination of the authorities on both sides of the whole vexed question of Episcopacy, as a factor in the great problem of Church unity, is at once exceedingly comprehensive and minute, as well as almost resistlessly conclusive. Bishop Gore, whose praise is in all the Churches, is by common consent the greatest of living champions on behalf of Sacerdotalism. "Anglican Presbyterian" not only covers the representations of the distinguished Bishop's latest book, "The Christian Ministry and Church Unity," but also even the most noteworthy among the very scraps of "Catholic" literature as they have appeared in newspapers to the present date.

If after studying the Introduction and Appendix of

this book, any reader desires further assurance that the statements upon which the Level Plan for Church Union is based will endure the strongest light of modern historical criticism, I refer him to Bishop Lightfoot's "Christian Ministry." This inexpensive and easily accessible work is, I hesitate not to say, altogether the most notable contribution to the subject that has ever been made by a representative of the Anglican Communion.

I offer a friendly challenge to any Sacerdotalist to show that the representations of this book concerning the origin and authority of the Christian ministry are inconsistent with those of modern scholarship. Even the concessions of the greatest authorities on the Sacerdotal side, Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly, are such as to establish at least the two chief premises upon which my conclusions are based: (1) the universality of the Christian priesthood, and (2) the evolution, instead of devolution of the Christian church and ministry.

Some have thought that the use of the words "Republican" and "Republicanism," for the embodiment of the Gospel principle upon which the Level Plan for Church Union is based, is not felicitous. They think that some such word as "Protestant" or phrase as, "the Protestant doctrine;" or, if a political terminology must be used to express a religious idea, it should be the more conservative one, "Democracy," or the phrase, "Democratic principles." I concede that the terms "Republican" and "Republicanism," do not fully serve my purpose, but after carefully considering the question it seemed to me

that they would do so better than any other words that could be fixed upon.

The difficulty is not that "Republicanism," stands for too much of the leveling principle, but that it is not large enough to express the whole of this many sided truth of the Gospel. What is needed is a word the contents of which would be equivalent to all that is contained in the terms, Republican, Democratic, Protestant and Modern. Inability to find or to coin such a word, obliged me to get on as well as possible with a confessedly inadequate terminology. If only it will enable me to impress upon the minds of those who read this book the utterly impossible and hopeless character of any plan for Church union which is based upon the principles of Imperial Sacerdotalism rather than upon Republican Protestantism, the end which I have in view will be accomplished.

III.

In all discussions of the momentous question of how to secure the unification of Christendom that is necessary to the evangelization of the world, which, to use the apt phraseology of the Bishop of New York, is "the question de profundis," it should be borne in mind that there are three things relating to it which are settled.

1. The first of these settled things is the fact that Church union can not be secured by absorption. The Churches being organically developed and crystallized, and being filled with the dominant and growing spirit of

Republicanism, as they are, the idea that unity will be brought about as the result of a merging process, by which one ecclesiastical body will organically associate with itself all the other Churches, can never be realized. From the historical point of view the Church of Rome alone could be looked to with any degree of hopefulness for such an organic unity; but, instead of advancing towards the goal of all comprehension set for herself, she is receding from it with astonishing rapidity. According to the showing of the painstaking statistician Joseph McCabe, in his book "The Decay of the Church of Rome," within the last one hundred years the Roman Church has lost, by desertion, at least 80,000,000 of her adherents. This showing has not been successfully controverted though it was made more than a year ago.

There is, perhaps, a sense in which it may be said that the unification of Christendom will be brought about as the result of a swallowing and absorbing process. But in that sense, quite contrary to the program of which we are speaking, Sacerdotal "Catholicism" will be swallowed by Republican Protestantism. It would, however, be better to abandon the figure, and to express the truth of which I am speaking, by saying that Sacerdotal "Catholicism," which belongs to the darkness of the Mediæval ages will disappear before the light of Republican Protestantism, as night gives place to day before the rising sun.

It would be contrary to the fundamental principles of Republican Protestantism to bring about the union of the Churches by a swallowing and absorbing process, for this

figure embodies the Sacerdotal or Imperial, "Catholic" principle. The Protestant principle has its embodiment in the idea of a Republican federation. While the world stands, Christendom will never be unified until the Sacerdotal "Catholic" or Roman program of an Imperial swallowing gives way to the Protestant program of a Republican federation.

Sacerdotal "Catholicism" must break down before Republican Protestantism, because its basic principle is contrary to the distinctive, fundamental doctrines of Christianity, such as: the Incarnation, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

The principle of Sacerdotal "Catholicism" is also irreconcilable with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Our Saviour prophetically prayed that His divided followers might be one, even as He and the Father are one, that the world might believe in His mission to it. We do not know concerning the mystery of the unity of the Triune Godhead, but it is not the Christian doctrine that the Divine Personalities of the Son and of the Holy Ghost are absorbed in the Personality of the Father.

St. Paul teaches us that the unity of the Church is to be that of a Republican federation, for it is, according to his doctrine, the federated unity which is exhibited so marvelously by the human body.

The sciences of chemistry, geology, biology, and astronomy show that the universe, in all its parts and in its entirety, is constructed on the basis of the unity of a Republican federation,

The very constitution of things, both spiritual and physical, renders it inevitable that Sacerdotalism in the Church of which Imperialism in the State is the counterpart, must give place to Republicanism. The Sacerdotal doctrine of the Divine right of a devoluted priesthood will not stand any more securely than the Divine right of a devoluted kingship. The doctrine of a devolutionary ministerial authority whether in State or Church is a baseless tradition and superstition; and it has become a hopeless anachronism.

Imperialism in civil governments and Sacerdotalism in ecclesiastical governments are but different embodiments of exactly the same principle. The principles of Republicanism and Imperialism in the realm of government bear the relation to each other of right and wrong. As the wrong is destined to give way before the right, so Imperialism must inevitably be supplanted by Republicanism. The fall of Imperialism in the State renders absolutely certain the fall of Sacerdotalism in the Church.

Under the Republican conditions now prevailing, and still developing, with every prospect of universality and permanency, the only reasonable hope for the unity which will enable Christianity to go into all the world, and to let its light shine, is centered in a federation of the Churches under the leadership of a Common Ministry which will unify them, in some such way as the American Colonies were unified by the federation which resulted in the creation of the United States. The attainment of

organic Christian unity in any other way than that of a federation, on an equal footing, of the racial, national Churches, has become an utter impossibility.

The federation by which we are to have the requisite Christian unity, cannot be accomplished by the corporate surrender proposed by the Roman Church, and by a large and influential school in the Anglican Church. There are two reasons for holding to this conclusion, either of which is in itself sufficient: (1) There is no sectarian Church which, by any possible influence, can be brought to the point of allowing itself to be thus swallowed, and (2) Upon the assumption that the requisite unity must be accomplished by a process of absorption, there is no Church that would be equal to the occasion.

Bishop Doane recognized the impracticability of unity on the basis of absorption when in 1908 in his official address to the Convention of the Diocese of Albany he said:

“To approach the great Protestant Churches of the world with the statement that their Ministries are unlawful, is to propose not reunion, but absorption; not consideration, but contempt. If one may quote not irreverently, the rather vulgar saying of the lamb and the lion lying down together with the lamb inside, it is just this and nothing more, and leaves us in an attitude of antagonism and isolation, which is perfectly hopeless and futile.”

In order that we Protestant Episcopalians may arrive at something like an adequate realization of the crass absurdity of the swallowing and absorbing proposition, let

us try to imagine our beloved little Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America with, say, the two great American Methodist Episcopal Churches, North and South, inside of it, and, then, to say nothing about others, add the American Baptist Churches and the Presbyterian Churches!

In the past even the Roman ecclesiastical leviathan has signally failed to bring about unity as the result of a swallowing policy; and she is cheered by no prospect of better success in the future. Such being the case, with the Roman Church, it would seem to be useless for any other ecclesiastical organization to attempt a similar program for the unification of Christendom.

2. The second of these settled things is that an Inter-Church Episcopate is necessary for the organic unity of Christendom. In this age of centralization, when the principles of Episcopacy, which are unity and superintendence under one headship, are wonderfully consolidating all other departments of the social realm, it may be regarded as settled that there is no ground upon which to rest a rational hope that the Churches will ever be brought together into national and international co-operative confederations, without an Inter-Church Episcopate. As well might the people of a nation hope for efficiency in their army without generals for its several chief divisions, as for the Churches of a country and of the world, to expect to accomplish their mighty twofold work of conversion and culture without efficient leadership.

I am, however, far from contending that this unifying,

ministerial embodiment of the Episcopate must be of that type which, according to the Sacerdotal doctrine, has come down to us as the result of a devolution of authority from the Lord Jesus, through His first Apostles and their successors, in an unbroken series of conveyances effected by the laying on of hands. On the pure Republican, Protestant theory, that which constitutes the indispensable Episcopate upon which the unification of Christendom is dependent, is an efficient, utilitarian embodiment of the eternal, basic principles of Episcopacy, which principles are unity and superintendence under one headship. It might therefore, with entire indifference, be either a modern Episcopate of the Methodist or United Brethren type, or a very old Episcopate of the Greek, or Roman, or Anglican type. But as both the ancient and modern Episcopates exist, some way must be found by which they may be united in a Common Inter-Church Ministry.

It has come to be almost universally admitted that, except in the case of the great Roman Communion, organic Christianity, for the lack of an unifying superintending headship, is far behind other agencies of our civilization. In the mammoth establishments which have been created for the purpose of meeting the astonishing demands for locomotives and automobiles, there are assembling rooms in which all parts of the machines are gathered and put together, until they are, like the bodies of highly organized animals, perfect pieces of mechanism, that may be used with marvelous efficiency in accomplishing the purposes for which they are respectively designed. Prot-

estantism is in imperative need of something that will do for it what is done in the assembling rooms of great manufacturing concerns, and it is my firm belief that the one and only thing that can do this is a Common Inter-Church Ministry of the Episcopal type.

It appears therefore that the importance which in my Plan for Church Union, I am attaching to the Episcopate does not exceed the importance which is attached to the same thing under different names in other departments of the social realm. The Father of a Family, in his necessary administrative prerogatives, is a Bishop. The King or the President of a State is a Bishop. The Superintendent of a Public School, or of a Railway system is a Bishop. It is really impossible to overestimate the important and indispensable character of the Episcopate, for it is by the very constitution of the social realm an absolute and universal necessity.

Thus it appears that no great organization such as is contemplated in the coming together of the Churches into all comprehensive national ecclesiastical organizations, and international communions and confederations, could be brought about and sustained without some embodiment of the principles of unity and superintendence under one headship. The Episcopate is historically the ecclesiastical embodiment of these principles.

There is, indeed, a great deal of really excellent and highly efficient organization in the several divisions of Protestantism. But speaking of Protestantism as a whole, it can hardly be said to have any organization at all.

Among people from whose eyes the scales of sectarian prejudice have fallen, the marvel of the age is that the unassociated Protestant sects are accomplishing so much. Hence it has come about that the leaders, both among the Clergy and Laity, in all our Protestant Churches are insisting that the ecclesiastical fragments must be in some way gathered together and united into one harmonious and co-operative body. The Level Plan for Church Union is a definite and practical suggestion as to how this may be done.

3. There is at least one more item among the settled things that must be taken account of by those who would make any contribution towards the solution of the problem of problems created by the divisions among Christians: All questions having an important bearing upon the problem, such as those connected with the Ministry, government and doctrines of the Church in New Testament and sub-apostolic times, will be settled, not by reference to traditions and theories, but by the results of the science of historical criticism. I say *science*, because historical criticism, in the course of the nineteenth century, reached the degree of certitude which entitled it to recognition as one of the sciences; and it has now taken its place among them as securely as, for example, the science of geology, or the science of biology.

We live in an age which is as pre-eminently scientific as it is Republican. Our age is scientific because it is Republican. The reverse of this is also true. Science is

the very soul of Republicanism in State and Church, as tradition is of Imperialism in the State and of Sacerdotalism in the Church.

He who now stands out against a conclusion that prevails among those who are expert historical critics, occupies precisely the same relative attitude as does one who denies a consensus of opinion, as it is held by expert geologists and biologists.

Therefore in all attempts to solve the stupendous and insistent problem arising from the unhappy divisions among Christians, it may be taken for granted that the solution lies in the line : (1) of a preliminary, Republican federation and ultimate reorganization, resulting from evolutionary processes rather than of an Imperial absorption: (2) of Episcopacy rather than of non-Episcopacy, and (3) of Historical Criticism rather than of Tradition.

IV.

May I ask the reader kindly to note the sense in which, throughout this book, I use the term "Catholic." "Catholicism" is, according to my use, a synonym of "Sacerdotalism" or "Priestism." There are two conceptions of Sacerdotalism, the official conception and the caste conception, of which conceptions Protestant Sacerdotalism is the former, and Roman or Greek Sacerdotalism is the latter.

Their office of Institution is authority for Protestant Episcopalians to speak of the Christian ministry as being Sacerdotal in the official sense of the term, but no such

Episcopalian will contend, certainly he will not do so successfully, that the doctrinal statements of his Church justify him in holding the Ministry to be a Sacerdotal caste in the sense in which the representatives of the Greek and Roman Churches generally hold their Ministries to be a caste.

References to the Ministry of the Anglican Churches as being Sacerdotal, in the right, Protestant, official sense of the term are so rare in their legislative and doctrinal literatures, and such references are so very apt to be misunderstood, that the propriety of making them at all is doubtful, and, for one, I avoid doing so. In limiting the term "Catholic" chiefly to the Roman and Greek Churches, I follow the example of Lightfoot, Harnack and Ramsay. These distinguished authorities and others, of their rank, never identify the Churches of the Anglican Communion with Catholicism. In their writings these Churches are always spoken of as Protestant.

I am anxious to make it clear that what I say in this book against Sacerdotalism is not in opposition to Protestant, that is official Sacerdotalism, but against Roman, caste Sacerdotalism.

There are "Catholic," Sacerdotal, Priestly parties in all the Churches which constitute the national branches of the Anglican Communion to which the Episcopal Church belongs.

Nor are the great Lutheran, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches without "Catholic" parties. Wherever Sacerdotalism is found associated with

primitive Christianity, investigation will show it to have been brought over either directly from Heathenism, its native habitat, or indirectly from Judaism, not from the Gospel religion of the New Testament.

It is generally supposed that during the Dark and Middle ages, the principles of Sacerdotal, Imperial "Catholicism" as embodied in the Greek and Roman Churches prevailed universally and exclusively. This is a mistake. During the greater part of those periods of transition from the pagan to the Christian civilization, the non-Sacerdotal, Republican principle of Protestantism had a powerful embodiment in monasticism. So true is this that I would much prefer to undertake to support the contention that the Protestant Churches are a continuation of the monasteries than that the Sacerdotal, Imperial Greek and Roman Churches are a continuation of the New Testament and sub-apostolic Churches. The great movement in the Roman Church which the Modernists have set on foot and which is gradually gathering force is a Protestant movement.

The essential characteristic of all forms of "Catholicism" is its Sacerdotal, or Priestly, or caste conception of the Christian ministry and the unnatural character which it attaches to the Christian sacraments and to the benefits annexed to them. The essential characteristic of Protestantism is its Republican conception of the Christian ministry and the natural character which it attaches to the Christian sacraments and to the benefits annexed to them.

Our plan for this book provides for the special consideration of the Sacerdotal doctrines concerning: (1) the origin and authority of the Christian ministry; and (2) the unnatural conception of the character and benefits of the Christian sacraments. The first of these cardinal doctrines of Sacerdotalism will be treated in the following section of this lecture under the title, "The Apostolic Succession;" and the second, in the last section of Lecture III which is entitled, "Grace of Sacraments." Here we are especially concerned to make it appear by facts and arguments of a more general character that the Republican, Protestant doctrines respecting the institutions of Christianity afford the only basis possible for Church union; because this basis is perfectly level and there is no reasonable hope that the Churches will ever come together on any except such a basis.

Both Episcopalian and Presbyterian Sacerdotalists hold that the successors of the Apostles are such on account of an unbroken series of ordinations, through which ministerial authority has been handed down, and the historic continuity of the Church has been preserved from age to age. The consistent Sacerdotal "Catholic" maintains that without such successors of the Apostles there could be no true Church or Sacraments of Christ, and consequently no covenanted Gospel salvation.

Protestants generally admit that, in a broad sense, the Lord planted a Church, but they insist that, not the Apostles only, but all His disciples, whether Ministers or

People, constitute its seed, the humblest layman or laywoman being essentially and potentially just as really and truly a seed, or the seed of the Church as the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope of Rome, or St. Peter himself.

The Lord Jesus promised that whenever, and wherever two or three of His faithful followers, being of one accord, find themselves together in His name, then, and there He would be in the midst of them. Many, probably the majority among Protestants interpret this promise to mean that any two or three godly Christians, men or women, could start a Church, which would be just as real, and, other things being equal, just as good a Church of Christ as the one which St. Paul himself founded at Corinth; and that those whom they selected and appointed as Ministers to shepherd them, and to conduct their worship might celebrate all the Sacraments as validly as any which the great Apostle administered.

In whomsoever, then, faith in Christ as God Incarnate exists, in him is the seed of the Church. Such an one, even though he had not been baptized might, if necessity required, administer the Sacrament to himself and to others as converts were made. Such an Apostle and his disciples might constitute a Church, which would be just as good a Church as any that has ever existed, and in which all the Christian sacraments would be administered as regularly and validly as they have ever been administered in any Church. This is the pure Republican, Protestant doctrine concerning the Christian church, ministry and sacraments; and it is the only doctrine that

can endure the light of historical criticism. The Church of the Future must have plenty of room for those who hold to this doctrine; and it constitutes the basis of the Level Plan for Church Union.

V.

According to the Protestant theory, then, the seed of the Church and its continuity are in the People as a whole, not in the Ministry alone. The Protestant doctrine makes no essential distinction between Ministers and People. What difference exists is purely of an official character, corresponding exactly to the difference between a citizen and an officer of a State.

Christian ministers cannot properly be distinguished from the people, as forming a separate and distinct part of the Church, having, by reason of ordination, inherent powers which are different from any which the people possess. In reality Christian ministers are only the servants of Christian people. They do not represent God to the people, but the people to God. God's representatives to the people, whether collectively or individually, are the Holy Ghost, and Prophets, not Priests.

According to the Republican theory of the Christian ministry, President Taft, and Bishop Tuttle occupy essentially the same relationship respectively to the people of these United States and the members of the Anglo-American Church. Both men are by common consent

unique personages, but, still, only ordinary men, good and great, but, yet, mere human beings. Moreover, God works through both the President of the United States, and the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. But while both are endowed with extraordinary talents and clothed with great authority and honor, there is nothing supernatural about them, either as to their persons or their official acts. In both cases the people can if they will take away what they have given them. The doctrine, "once a Bishop always a Bishop" is quite as fictitious as would be the doctrine, "once a President always a President."

We hear a great deal from those of the Sacerdotal way of thinking about different orders in the Christian ministry. There may be three or more orders in the sense of grades in the official Ministry of any Church. But the ministerial character is an universal possession and therefore cannot be said to belong to the official any more than to the unofficial Ministry. There being only one ministerial character, which is common to all representatives of Christianity, there is, of course, but one order in the sense of character in the Ministry. Every representative of the human race is potentially a member of it and every baptized, if not indeed every believing man, woman and child, is actually a member. Bishops, Priests and Deacons therefore do not constitute the entire Christian ministry, but are only representatives of the several grades in the official Ministry. Many Greek, Roman and Anglican theologians hold that Bishops and Presbyters do not

constitute different ministerial offices, but only grades of the one office. A Bishop or a Presbyter does not differ from a Deacon except only that he is a servant of the people of higher grade.

It is essential to right conclusions concerning the origin and authority of the Christian ministry that the important fact should be noted that in the New Testament the word "Priest" does not occur in connection with a Christian minister of any grade. The chief names employed in reference to the Ministry are Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers, Bishops, Elders and Deacons. The titles, Apostle, meaning, "one who is sent," and Elder, meaning, "an old and honored man," refer to the different grades in the Ministry. The term Bishop, meaning, "a superintendent," and the term Deacon, meaning, "a server," were not at first titles of settled offices in the Ministry, but designations of duties, or commissions, or functions, that might be performed quite indifferently by either an Apostle or a Presbyter, but which generally appertained to the Presbyterial office.

It is of the utmost importance to the great cause of Christian unity that it should be clearly realized that, quite contrary to the Sacerdotal doctrine, the Church is inherent in the People, not in the Ministry. The Church is not exclusively in any Minister or Ministry of the Apostolic Succession, whether that succession be Episcopal or Presbyterial, but is equally inherent in every individual who accepts the Divine-Human Saviourship of the Lord Jesus.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Arkansas can no more truly be said to be in the Bishop of Arkansas, than the State of Arkansas can be said to be in the Governor of Arkansas. The Bishop is, in every sense of the term, as truly the servant of the people of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Arkansas, as the Governor is the servant of the people of the State of Arkansas. There is no other conception of the Church and her Ministry, even as there is no other conception of the State and her Officers, that can stand in the light of historical criticism, or that will not be swept aside by the advancing Republican civilization. Both the Ministry of the State and the Church are "of the People, by the People, for the People."

An officer whether in State or Church is a Minister or servant of the People. It is true that both are alike the Ministers and servants of God; but only as they fulfill their functions as servants of the People are they truly the servants of God.

In so far as the official acts of Ministers are in opposition to the will of the People, they are usurpers and morally, they are as irregular as would be the same acts performed by an ordinary citizen of the State or member of the Church concerned. The official acts of a ministerial officer in State or Church should represent the people. The Holy Ghost represents God in the conscience of every man.

God's human representatives are the Prophets whom He makes for Himself. God is as likely to make one

of His Prophets out of a shoe-cobbler as out of a Bishop. The prophetic office and the ministerial office do not, as Sacerdotalists would have us believe, generally unite in the same man. Indeed, it seldom happens that a high officer in State or Church is a great civil or religious Prophet. There is something about officialism that stifles the spirit and freedom of the Prophet, and it is seldom that a political or religious Prophet of first rank is elected to the Presidency or the Episcopate.

The representatives of the official Ministry of a Church are, then, servants owing their distinctive honor, privileges and authority to the people, just as the officers of a State are such servants. Protestants will not tolerate the idea that the followers of Christ are divided into two parts by a ministerial caste, the representatives of which are the inheritors of a devoluted, independent, personal authority, upon whose ministrations the people are necessarily dependent for covenanted salvation. There is no Minister in the person of any human being, not excepting the President of the United States or the Pope of the Roman Church, who possesses any official authority or power which is derived from a higher source than the will of the people; except in so far as Divine providence determines the will of the people. According to the doctrine of consistent Protestants there is no assurance of covenanted salvation except a conscience void of offense towards God and man on account of obedience to God's requirements, and beyond the mediatorship of Christ every man is his own Priest.

Upon the Protestant theory of the origin of the Christian church and the authority of her ministry, all the Ministers of every branch of the Church in the whole world might completely die out and yet the continuity of the Church would not be interrupted. Each of the Churches would in the event of such a catastrophe proceed to create a new Ministry; and, this having been done, Churches now claiming to have a Ministry which has been derived by devolution from the Lord Jesus and His first Apostles would then have as good a Ministry as they ever had.

That Sacerdotal "Catholicism" of the Greek and Roman type is wrong and that Republican Protestantism is right in their respective tenets will be evident from the following facts:

1. Historic "Catholicism" of which, in our part of the world, the Roman Church is the chief exponent, has for its basis a Sacerdotal ministerial caste and there is not a trace of such a Ministry in the New Testament. If any Catholic should demand proof for this sweeping statement, I refer him to Bishop Lightfoot's essay, entitled, "The Christian Ministry."

2. Sacerdotalism was brought into the Christian church from Judaism and Heathenism. Even Judaism imported its Sacerdotalism from Heathenism, and it is probable that Heathen Sacerdotalism was a development due to degeneration and corruption, for it is not at all likely that any religion started out with Sacerdotalism as its basis.

Indeed the founding of all new religions and the reforming of all old religions necessarily were Republican movements. For, on the one hand Republicanism in the State and Protestantism in the Church, which in both cases, in the last analysis, represent the will of the whole people, is the embodiment of the principle of development; and on the other hand, Imperialism in the State and Sacerdotalism in the Church, which in both cases, in the last analysis, represent the will of the ruling caste, is the embodiment of the principle of crystallization. Both the Jewish and Christian religions, between which there is in history and in principle a very close connection, began, not as Sacerdotal, but as Republican or Protestant movements.

Even to the latest day the Jewish religion was in its essential character an ethical, not a Sacerdotal religion. Sacerdotalism had to do with the outside rather than the inside of the Jewish religion. The truth of this observation is established by the fact that the religion as a whole was so little affected by the destruction of the Temple, the cessation of its elaborate sacrificial system, and the consequent rapid decline of its hierarchy. The Sacerdotalism of the Jews was the outward rather than the inward part of their religion. It may be likened to the garments which clothe the human body rather than to the flesh and blood and bones which are constituent parts of the body.

All this is even more true of Christianity than it was of Judaism. Sacerdotalism is something quite exterior to its essential nature. Even in the case of its most com-

pletely sacerdotalized sect, the Church of Rome, the great Cathedral of St. Peter with all the heads of the Roman hierarchy, from the lowest to the highest, who inhabit the Eternal City, might, either by a sudden revolution, or gradual evolution cease to exist, as the Temple and hierarchy of Jerusalem ceased to exist, and yet even the Roman part of Christianity would reorganize itself and continue on almost as if nothing had happened.

3. Sacerdotalism in the Church has its counterpart in Imperialism in the State. In the State Imperialism is dying out. This being the case, it may be almost infallibly concluded that Sacerdotalism will die out in the Church. For in their government Churches have always, in the long run, conformed to the government of the States in which they have flourished. The few exceptions that may be cited are neither numerous nor persistent enough to disprove the rule.

If, as we have shown, Roman Sacerdotalism cannot maintain itself, what ground for hope is there that Anglican, or any other Protestant Sacerdotalism, can do so? In view of the fact that Romanism is rapidly losing ground, how short sighted it would be for the Protestant Episcopal Church to allow herself to be led by her Sacerdotal party to go with Roman "Catholicism" rather than to continue on with Protestantism. Why should we identify ourselves with a lost cause?

The Christians of the United States are divided into two sections. On the one hand we have the Roman Catholic Church and on the other the Protestant Churches,

The division to which the Anglo-American Church, as an ecclesiastical organization, belongs is clearly determined by her doctrinal standards and also by her very name, *The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America*, not "The American Catholic Church."

VI.

If the people of the Roman Church, in which the Ministry seems to be everything, were to rise up in their might, they could sweep the whole Imperial Hierarchy out of office and put a Republican Ministry in its place. The doing of all this would not, as Sacerdotalists so persistently contend, interrupt the historical continuity of that Church; for in the case of Churches, as in that of States, continuity is dependent upon the people, not upon their ministerial officers. It is as impossible to establish the thesis that a Church's continuity is dependent upon its Ministry, as to maintain successfully that the continuity of a great family depends upon the steward of its household.

Christian churches and ministries have their root in the will of the people to organize and to provide for the realization of Gospel ideals. The chief object of a Christian church is to enable its membership to make provision: (1) to build up in themselves Christlike characters; (2) to let their light shine in Christian lands by philanthropic works and (3) to preach the Gospel in all the world.

For the accomplishment of these great purposes we have

ancient and modern Churches. Some among the former are older than others, but all Churches, as is clearly shown by the science of historical criticism, with their Ministries, whether old or new are developments, not devolutions.

The Church is the religious department of the great social realm, even as the Family is the domestic and the State the civil departments of that realm. The Church is an indispensable, Divine institution, but it is not a whit more so than the Family and the State. If there be any difference between these three great social institutions, in respect to their indispensability and Divineness, it is in favor of the Family rather than of the Church or State. There can be no doubt that, in the natural order, the Family comes first and the Church last.

All States have sprung from a Family, or from a chain of States the first link of which connected it with a Family. All Churches have sprung from a State or from a Church the first link of which connected it with a State. The Family then is the social unit. It is the seed of both the State and the Church.

If an individual starts a Church or State he generally does so upon the principle of unofficial association. This is the Family principle, the seed of all social institutions. Hence the founder of a Church or State is held in veneration as its father or patriarch. There is a sense in which the individual rather than the family may be regarded as the unit of society, but only because of the assumption

which credits him with the power of associating others with himself.

It will be asked, "What of the family? It is, according to your showing, the unit of all society. It is not a fact that the family government is of the Imperialistic and Sacerdotal character?" We answer, No. The family exists and is held together by the marriage relationship, which is dependent upon the consent of both the man and the woman concerned. The necessity for this mutual, nuptial consent proves the Republicanism of the marriage relationship and of the family.

One family whether large or small, old or new is just as really a family as any other. It may be a defective family in that it is without children, or because the children are not brought up as they should be, but nevertheless where there is husband and wife, or even one parent and child, there is a real family.

Now, inasmuch as the family is the ultimate unit of the whole social realm, it follows that if all families occupy the same basis in respect to their reality, this must likewise be true of all states and churches; and consequently that the Sacerdotal thesis which places one Church and Ministry above another, on account of an alleged inherent superiority, cannot be sustained.

Republicanism is, then, the embodiment of the principle upon which all government in Family, State and Church should rightfully be based. This truth is now so generally received, and the Republican form of government has

become so widely prevalent that there is no chance for the coming together of the Churches which is necessary to the evangelization of the world on the basis of Sacerdotal Catholicism. The only basis possible is Republican Protestantism, or Modernism.

III.

THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

I.

NO MEMBER of one of the national Churches of the Anglican Communion can go deeply into the question of whether Republican Protestantism or Sacerdotal Catholicism is to be the basis of Church union, without seeing how natural it would be for those Churches to refuse the leadership of their "Catholic" membership. In the great world-wide movement toward Christian unity, which is gathering force every day, the representatives of the Anglican "Catholic" school would have the Churches of this Communion line up with the Roman and Greek Churches, rather than with the Protestant Churches. But why should the leaders of the Anglican Protestant hosts, who, as they believe, have on their side the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, the doctrinal standards of their Churches, the facts of their ecclesiastical history, the conclusions of mod-

ern scholarship, the signs of the times, the outlook for Christian unity in particular and for civilization in general, allow their well-meaning but utterly deluded brethren of the same Lord and in the same household of faith, beloved though they be, to succeed in an undertaking which would inevitably issue in everything in the way of loss and nothing of gain? Much as we love and respect our "Catholic" brethren we cannot follow them. We should not allow their plans to be carried out. The thing they have in hand must not be done. The Anglican Churches are reformed, Protestant Churches, or rather they are reforming, protesting Churches quite as much so as, for examples, the Lutheran and Presbyterian Churches. Our Churches are in the right way, the Gospel way of Republicanism. They must and they will be kept in that way.

The most notable difference between the Protestant Churches of England and Germany was, that they came out of the Reformation with, respectively, the Episcopal and Presbyterian forms of the Christian ministry. This difference, on account of which, since the time of Archbishop Laud, Anglican "Catholics" have been pluming themselves so ostentatiously, is correctly accounted for by providential circumstances, which at the time were universally believed to concern primarily other questions, rather than those relating to the regularity and validity of the acts of the representatives of the Episcopal and Presbyterian Ministries. One thing is certain that the English reformers claimed no superiority for their work over that of the German and other national reformers because they

saved the Episcopal institution, and their Protestant brethren of other countries lost it.

With their theory of Episcopacy, a theory which they held in common with nearly, if not quite all, of their contemporaries not only in the Reformed Churches but also in the Roman Church, a theory which is still held by many theologians in the Greek, Roman and Anglican Churches, it would have been impossible for the English reformers to have set up and sustained a claim of superiority over the German and other reformers on the ground of this difference; for it was believed among them that there were only two separate and distinct orders in the Christian ministry, the Priesthood and the Diaconate; and that the Episcopate was merely a higher degree within the one order of Priesthood.

No doubt the majority among Roman theologians then held, as they now hold, that to a great degree, the Papacy, and in a lesser degree the Episcopate as a whole was separate and distinct from the Priesthood. But ever since the rise of the Papal institution, Roman theologians generally have stood alone, because regard for consistency has compelled them virtually to contend that St. Peter was the only Apostle and that the Bishop of Rome is the only Priest; that the other Apostles and the other Bishops, Priests and Deacons were and are simply representatives of St. Peter and the Pope.

The High-Churchman among the Reformers may have contended, as I do, that the well being of the Church was dependent upon Episcopacy. In later times this was the

contention; but no one, in any reformed Church, before Laud, maintained that Episcopacy was necessary to the existence of a Church.

In the preceding section of this lecture we contended that the origin and authority of the Christian ministry is correctly accounted for on the theory of evolution rather than upon the theory of devolution. The doctrinal history of the Anglican Episcopate since the Reformation fully justifies this contention. A very brief statement of three interesting facts will, I am sure, confirm this representation to the satisfaction of all who are open to conviction.

1. The English reformers and theologians held that Episcopacy owed its existence and authority to human enactment and that it was instituted because it was found to be desirable for administrative purposes. This was the doctrine held by Archbishop Cranmer, the greatest of all English reformers, who framed the service by which Anglican Bishops have been consecrated from his day to this. Cranmer was burned at Oxford March 21, 1556.

2. Next, Archbishop Bancroft advanced the idea that Episcopacy in the Church, like royalty in the State had for its basis the Divine instead of the human will. Bancroft died November 2, 1610.

The greatest theologian that the Anglican Communion, if not indeed Christendom, has produced since the Reformation, Hooker, held a doctrine regarding Episcopacy that might quite accurately be designated as the Cranmer-Ban-

croft doctrine according to which Episcopacy is made to rest upon both the Divine and the human will.

But Hooker held that the will of God was manifested through the entire Church, not exclusively through the ministerial part of it, and that therefore the Christian ministry had for its ultimate basis the will of the people. He asserts in the plainest possible terms that "the whole Church visible" is the "true original subject of all power." I quote the passage in which this statement occurs both because it is very much to the point here, and also because I am entitled to regard it as a justification by the very highest Anglican authority of the Republican theory of the origin of the Christian ministry which constitutes the basis of the Level Plan for Church Union. I think that the candid reader will agree with me that the passage is utterly irreconcilable with the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession; and that I have not so far said anything in this book which is out of line with it. Hooker says:

"There may be sometimes very just and sufficient reasons to allow ordination made without a Bishop. The whole Church visible, being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Bishops alone to ordain; how be it, as the ordinary cause is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary way. Where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath, nor can have possibly, a Bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary

institution of God hath given oftentimes and may give place. And therefore we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of Bishops in every effectual ordination.”—*Ecclesiastical Polity VII, 14.*

The irrefutable argument advanced by Hooker to establish the theory that Episcopacy exists by Divine sanction was of an historical and utilitarian character. It was to the effect that the institution would not have come into existence so early and universally, nor would it have existed so long, if it had not been found to be, from a practical point of view, the best governmental arrangement for the Church. An institution which had developed into being so early and generally and which had existed so persistently, because it was found to be so indispensably useful, cannot be satisfactorily explained upon the hypothesis that it is a man made institution. It must then be assumed that its basis is the Divine rather than the human will. Hooker died November 2, 1600.

3. Finally, Archbishop Laud, taking up Archbishop Bancroft's theory, which was not irreconcilable with the principles of Republican Protestantism, added to it the theory of devolution by Apostolic Succession. This theory took the institution of Episcopacy out of the realm of Republicanism and placed it in that of Sacerdotalism. Laud was beheaded January 10, 1645.

In justifying the basis upon which I rest the Level Plan for Church Union, I advance a theory of the Episcopate which may be characterized as the Cranmer-Ban-

croft-Hooker theory. With Bancroft and Hooker I hold the Episcopate to be a Divine institution and with Cranmer a human institution. To Hooker's historical and utilitarian arguments for the Divineness of this institution, I add the philosophical argument that the principles of unity and superintendence under one headship, which have their ecclesiastical embodiment in Episcopacy, are basic principles running underneath all the departments of the whole social realm, which departments are the Domestic, the Civil, the Ecclesiastical, the Educational, the Industrial and the Commercial. Not one of these departments, each of which is indispensable to civilization, could exist without some embodiment of the principles of Episcopacy.

While, however, these principles are essential parts of the very constitution of things and, therefore, Divine in the very highest conceivable sense of the term, yet their embodiment is of human rather than of Divine ordering. In the ecclesiastical realm there are at present several widely differing embodiments of the Episcopal principles, the Greek, the Roman, the Anglican, the Parochial, the Diocesan, the Provincial and the International.

All these different Episcopal institutions may be held to be Divine by reason of the nature of the principles they embody and human by reason of the nature of the embodiment. Though these institutions embody different degrees of the Episcopal principles, they are nevertheless equally both Divine and human in their respective degrees. The Pope of the mighty International Roman Church, and the Pastor of the most obscure among the almost wholly iso-

lated Churches of the intensely Congregational Baptist Communion, stand on essentially the same basis as to their official Episcopate and therefore also as to the validity of their preaching and sacramental administrations; and, if the Roman shepherd be unfaithful to his trust while the Baptist Pastor is faithful to his, before God, the first will be last.

The Level Plan for Church Union provides for a new embodiment of the Episcopal principles, which will bring the Churches of Christendom together into National, Republican federations and International communions. This proposed embodiment of the principles of unity and superintendence under one headship, if ever it is consummated, will constitute neither a more human nor less Divine Episcopate than the embodiments of them which we have in the widely differentiated Episcopates of the Greek, Roman and Anglican Churches. Nor will the proposed national, Inter-denominational Episcopate differ more widely from the Greek, Roman and Anglican Episcopates than they do from one another.

The Sacerdotal pretension, to which our "Catholics" adhere so tenaciously, that Episcopacy is what it is because it is an embodiment of the mysterious, intangible, indefinable, miraculous something characterized as the grace of Apostolic Succession, and that on account of this embodiment the Greek, Roman and Anglican Episcopates are alike or at least closely allied, and that they are by reason of it widely differentiated from the Methodist Episcopate, is, from every modern point of view, seen to

be fictitious. Among the many strange things about it all is that our "Catholics" hug the delusion as to the Anglican Episcopate, while, so far as that Episcopate is concerned, Roman Catholics, reject it with scorn and Greeks look askance at it although they both hug the same delusion which is based upon the same Sacerdotal assumption. The concern of Anglican "Catholics" to secure the admission by the Greek and Roman Churches that the Episcopate of the Churches of our Communion has the grace of Apostolic Succession is as humiliating as it is pathetic and irritating.

But the fact to which, in this connection, I wish to give special emphasis is that the English reformers, in continuing the Episcopate, and in formulating the Service for the consecration of the new line of Protestant Bishops, who took the place of the old line of Sacerdotal Bishops, were concerned, on grounds of expediency, about continuing an administrative office, and not at all about perpetuating, on Sacerdotal grounds, an Apostolic Succession. Nor did it occur to them that in the retention of the Episcopate they were securing to the official acts of the representatives of the English Ministry a regularity and validity which was wanting in such acts of the Presbyterian Ministers of the Continental Churches.

It is true that with some of the Bishops, notably Laud, the Sacerdotal ideas came back to a part of the Anglican Episcopate, and that ultimately the influence of those of this way of thinking among the Clergy and Laity led to a discrimination against the Clergy who had not received

Episcopal ordination. But this discrimination was not intended to cast any reflection upon the Presbyterian Ministries of the sister Churches and no change was made in the ordination service. There was an addition to the Preface of the Ordinal, but this was a simple provision for securing uniformity in ordinations to the Ministry of the Reformed Church of England and it had a political rather than a doctrinal significance. This important fact is well stated by Professor Briggs, in his illuminating work, *Church Unity*. He says:

“It is evident that those who composed the Anglican Ordinal did not think that the consecration of a Bishop conferred any special character or had anything of the nature of a Sacrament connected with it. The Preface to the Ordinal does not claim any Divine right for the Episcopate, but appeals solely and alone to historical fact:

“‘It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles’ time there have been these Orders in Christ’s Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons.’

“Furthermore, it does not venture to make a rule for other Christian churches but only for the Church of England, when it says:

“‘And therefore to the intent these Orders should be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this Church of England; it is requisite that no man (not being at this present Bishop, Priest or Deacon) shall execute any of them, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted, according to the form hereafter following.’

“ It does not pronounce upon the kind of ordination required by the Reformed Churches of the Continent with whom the Church of England was in fellowship during the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. It was not until the Revision of 1661, after the Civil Wars had embittered controversy as to Orders, that the addition was made: ‘ or hath had formerly Episcopal consecration or ordination ’ with the intent of ruling out those who had received Presbyterian ordination in Great Britain. But this addition did not make any essential change in the Ordinal, or go any further than make the rule more specific with reference to the Church of England and that Church alone, except so far as daughter Churches have followed in its footsteps.

“ It seems clear from Cranmer, the chief composer of the Ordinal, and Barlow, the chief consecrator of Parker, and the influence of Bucer and other Reformation divines at the time, that there was not any other thought or intention than of consecrating an officer of the Church giving him authority to exercise his office and appropriate jurisdiction. They had no intention of imprinting any special Episcopal character, and there is nothing whatever in the formula itself to suggest any other intention than that of Cranmer, Barlow and their associates at the time.

“ The change of opinion in the Church of England on the part of the Anglican Episcopate and Priesthood, however extensive it may have been, first from the human right of the Episcopate to the Divine right first expressed by Bancroft, and then to a special Apostolic Succession

for Anglican Bishops with special Episcopal character imprinted in consecration which seems to be the opinion of the Laudian school, cannot change the original intent of the Ordinal upon which the Anglican Episcopate is based; because that change of opinion has never been expressed in any revision of the Ordinal, and if it had been, it would be too late, for it could not restore a succession which had already lapsed, if the Anglo-Catholic theory of the Episcopate be correct."

II.

Perhaps the most convincing proof of the correctness of my representations against the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession that can be made here is the following statement of facts:

1. For a long time the world at large classed the followers of the Galilean as a Jewish sect. The Christians of the first generation were Jews or proselytes to Judaism, and they regarded themselves as a sect in the Jewish Church, very much as John Wesley and his followers originally held themselves to be a society in the Church of England. So long as this conception of their relationship to Judaism was in the ascendancy, it was impossible that the Churches should consider that their unofficial or at most semi-official colleges of Elders-Bishops constituted a Priesthood.

2. It is essential to the Sacerdotal, "Catholic" conception of the Priesthood that there should be a Church the Ministry of which constitutes a differentiated class, or

caste. But, to say nothing about a ministerial caste, the Christians of the New Testament times were not even aware of the organic existence of a Church. They looked forward to the founding of a Church, but they identified it with the Kingdom of their Master; and it was, during the first two generations at least, the universal belief that the organization and establishment of this Church or Kingdom would follow His Second Coming.

There can be no doubt that St. James, the so-called first Bishop of Jerusalem, died with the impression that Christianity, from an ecclesiastical point of view, was not to have a separate existence from Judaism; and it is equally indubitable that the last of the Apostles, the Beloved Disciple, passed away at the beginning of the third generation of Christians with a strong expectation that the Lord was about to appear in glorious majesty to found His everlasting Kingdom of universal dominion.

Sacerdotalists try to set aside this representation respecting the inorganic character of the New Testament Church, so far as it is based upon the assumption that the followers of Jesus for two or three generations had little or no interest in any organization, because they lived in a fervid expectation of an immediate Second Coming and the passing away of the existing order of things. They admit that this expectation prevailed until Pentecost, but contend that from that day of illumination the disciples knew by the revelation of the Holy Ghost that the Lord's coming was in the distant future, and that He intended what He had to say about the establishment of the Kingdom of

Heaven to be understood of a Church, the foundation of which He had laid and the superstructure of which they were to build. But, to say nothing about the general trend of the New Testament literature, all of which was written long after the day of Pentecost, the Book of the Revelation which is one of the latest of our Sacred Scriptures is utterly at odds with this contention of Sacerdotalists.

3. Moreover, with the New Testament Christians, the Messianic Kingdom involved the idea of a restoration and increase of the glory of the Jewish Theocratic Kingdom.

These three facts in themselves afford a short cut proof of the most conclusive character that, to the death of St. John, about A. D. 100, the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession by an uninterrupted series of ordinations is entirely without the foundation of either Scripture or history.

The Jewish expectation of an universal and all-powerful Messianic Kingdom and the Roman hope of worldwide dominion were realized in the Papal Church, which during the period of its greatest ascendancy, was much more of a political than a religious institution. The truth would seem to be that the omniverous Church of Rome gradually took over to itself the Jewish Theocracy, the Heathen Polytheism, and the Roman Empire. After the removal of the Imperial throne from Rome to Constantinople and until the Reformation, the Pope was much more really a successor at once of the Jewish High Priest,

of the Heathen Pontifex Maximus, and of the Roman Augustus than ever he was of the Apostle St. Peter.

The first concrete expression of the ideal of Christianity as a resistless and unlimited civil dominion was the primitive monarchical Episcopate the representatives of which were in reality laymen. This institution was the organic basis, or embryonic germ, of the whole vast evolution which culminated in the Roman hierarchy and Church. It is one of the most striking facts of the Dark and Middle ages that when the monarchical Episcopate had reached its complete development in the Papacy of the Roman Church, the occupant of the reputed chair of St. Peter was much more of a King than a Bishop. Innocent III. who flourished as Pope from 1198 to 1216, as King of Kings and Bishop of Bishops was the most universal and powerful sovereign that the world has ever known.

Thus it appears that the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is without Scriptural foundation. It follows, then, as by a logical necessity, that the whole Sacerdotal superstructure is without the support of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and that, therefore, it is a non-Christian edifice, built upon the sand of heathen superstition. Hence it must inevitably be concluded that it is as undesirable, as it would be impossible that Sacerdotal Catholicism should furnish either the doctrinal or the governmental basis for the necessary federation of the Churches of Christendom.

III.

All the Christian churches of which we read in the New Testament were congregational Churches. During the first two or three generations of Christians there were as many Churches as there were congregations of the Disciples of Christ and there were no confederations of Churches of a provincial, diocesan or national character.

During this period the Christian ministry was rudimentary as to its official character, so much so that its representatives were hardly officers at all, but rather only leaders. They owed this semi-official relationship and leadership in the congregations of which they were members, to their prominence, on account of some natural cause, or to their recognized claim to spiritual gifts bestowed at their Baptism by the Holy Ghost, which specially qualified them for the work of leadership in the Christian community. The Christian ministry of the period during which this condition prevailed, which is practically synchronous with the New Testament, had these grades, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers and Bishops or Elders.

Apostles and Prophets did not confine their ministrations to single localities, but went from place to place establishing new Churches, or more properly speaking, associations or brotherhoods, and building up those already established. During the first two or three generations the relationship of Christians to each other was of an associa-

tive rather than of an organic character. This must be borne in mind by all who would reach right conclusions on the important subjects of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry, and of the practicability of carrying out any such plan for Christian unity as is proposed in this book.

While the Church was an association rather than an organism there was only a rudimentary embodiment of the Episcopal principles. The little there was of this embodiment was chiefly in the peripatetic Apostles and Prophets and in the resident chairmen of the local colleges of Elders. Each city, in which the Church had been planted, had one of these colleges. Before the development of ministerial officialism, which was not until the third or fourth generation of Christians, the Elders were Laymen, not Clergymen in the Roman, Anglican or even Denominational acceptance of the term. Their position corresponded almost exactly to that of the lay eldership of the Presbyterian Churches of our day.

In speaking of the Apostles in this connection, I have of course no reference to successors of the Twelve or rather the Eleven; for the ministerial relationship that those original disciples sustained to the infant Church, was not, as the devolutionary theory postulates, continued by successors. In the strictest possible sense of the term the Eleven were leaders, not officers, and so in the very nature of things they could have no official successors by an unbroken series of tactual ordinations. Leaders are endowed by God, not ordained by man.

Leadership is, quite contrary to popular estimation, far above officialism. It is at least theoretically conceivable that a man might be at one and the same time the Father of a Family, the Governor of a State, and the Bishop of a Diocese. In the last two of these relationships he would be an officer; in the first a leader. In each of the three relationships he would be the head. Who does not see and acknowledge that the unofficial headship of a Family is more exalted than the official headship of a State or a Church? How it would belittle and degrade the first of these threefold relationships of this man to place it on the level of the other two, the level of officialism. Leadership is as high above officialism as the heavens are above the earth.

The Priests of the Old Testament were officers and the Prophets were leaders; but the High Priest never lived who, notwithstanding the dignity and glamour of his official position, impressed his generation and shaped the destiny of the nation and the world as did Isaiah. The field of history presents many similar illustrations of the comparative superiority and importance of leadership over officialism.

Coming home to our own country and time. President Taft is occupying the loftiest official position that exists anywhere in the world. Mr. Bryan has failed again and again in his effort to reach this position of tremendous opportunities for the doing of great things and of securing imperishable renown. Yet even Mr. Bryan's political opponents will concede that, notwithstanding he is without

the prestige of office, his influence as one of the greatest among political prophets and leaders completely overshadows any influence that he could exert as President of the United States, if he were without his gifts of prophecy and leadership.

Prophets are leaders, and, though their influence may be increased by official position, the leadership of civil or religious prophets is far from being wholly or even chiefly dependent upon officialism.

IV.

Any one who, for the first time, enters upon the investigation of Christian Sacerdotalism will be greatly surprised that its chief doctrines are paralleled so closely by the doctrines of Heathen Sacerdotalism.

Bishop Lightfoot asserts that Sacerdotalism was carried over from Judaism and Heathenism to Christianity, and as for the doctrine with which we are here concerned, Apostolic Succession, he might have gone on to say that it was not changed much after its arrival.

The following observation of the anthropologist, Dr. Farnell, in his late book, *The Evolution of Religion*, should cause some thinking on the part of those who suppose that the idea of a devoluted Church and Ministry, as presented in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is peculiar to Christianity:

“In considering the history of the hierarchy in Christendom,” says this author, “we are often obliged to turn

our eyes back upon the pre-Christian period. For instance, the insistence on the Apostolic Succession in the various churches, a primary article of faith with many at the present time, is entirely in keeping with a very old Mediterranean tradition: for we find it not infrequently maintained in Hellenic paganism that the Priest should descend directly from the god whom he serves, or from the first apostle who instituted the particular cult or mystery; we hear of the Priest being qualified 'by descent and by divine appointment.' But in earlier religious periods the succession or descent was regarded in the lineal and physical sense: this has become refined into the idea of a spiritual succession, maintained however by a continuity of physical, though mystic, contact."—*Farnell's, The Evolution of Religion.*

One of the results of the scientific study of the Old Testament literature, having an interesting, if not indeed a fundamental bearing upon the whole subject of Sacerdotalism, is the fact that the Jewish Priesthood, as it existed in New Testament times, was a very different institution from what it was before the Babylonian captivity, so much so that it may perhaps be rightly said to owe its establishment to Nehemiah and Ezra, rather than to Moses and Aaron.

The Apostles other than the Eleven and St. Paul, such as Barnabas and Apollos, were legion. They based their title to recognition as the Apostles of the Messiah or of the Christ, not upon any devolution of authority derived from Him through His first Apostles by ordination, but to a commission received direct from the Holy Ghost.

The Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers and Pastors made the same claim the basis of their right to be heard and followed as Christian teachers and leaders. In the course of time all these Ministries, like the Ministry of the original Apostolate, died out. They constituted what may be designated as the unpremeditated provisional, unofficial Christian ministry of leadership.

The basis of the permanent Christian ministry was the local Eldership-Episcopate. I make one hyphenated word of Eldership and Episcopate, because it is identically the same institution under two exactly synonymous designations. For the same good reason I am hyphenating Elders and Bishops making both plural. This Ministry was contemporaneous with the Ministries of which we have been speaking, but it differed from them, not only because it was a local establishment, but also because it possessed a semi-official character whereas they were migratory and unofficial Ministries of leadership.

Moreover the representatives of this developing Ministry owed their relationship to their respective Churches, not so much to any supposed special Baptism of the Holy Ghost, which distinguished them from the rest of the membership, as to their venerable character and standing in the community. It was, like the Apostolate, collegiate rather than individualistic. In the larger Churches a college of Elders-Bishops usually numbered thirteen. At celebrations of the Lord's Supper, twelve were reckoned as representing the Apostles, and one, the chairman of the college, as representing the Master Himself.

While the provisional Ministry was in the ascendancy a representative of it, if present, took precedence of the chairman of the local college of Elders-Bishops in leading the people in their worship and prophesying, and especially in presiding at the common, daily, evening meal, or as we now say, at celebrations of the Lord's Supper. But if this itinerant Ministry was not represented at a gathering of the Church, the chairman of its college of Elders-Bishops presided. The college sat at a table apart from the rest of the Church for the purpose of impersonating the Master and His twelve disciples, thus dramatizing the memorable scene on that momentous occasion when the memorial feast was instituted.

As the Churches grew, and as time went on the college of Elders-Bishops naturally assumed more and more of a corporate, official character. But the first real officers of the Church were the chairmen of these colleges, who became the basis of the monarchical or the "Historic" Episcopate. The monarchical congregational Episcopate was coming to the front, at least in some Churches, as early as Ignatius A. D. 117. This institution was well and all but universally established in the time of Cyprian, about A. D. 250. Cyprian may be regarded as the founder of the Imperial hierarchy and of the Catholicism which went with it.

Even upon the assumption that the Apostolate was an office, an assumption which the facts bearing upon the subject will not warrant, there is no sufficient evidence that the Twelve, or any of them, ever executed an

ordination by the laying on of hands to that office. It will be claimed that the probabilities favor the conclusion that they did so set apart St. Matthias but this is not stated in the sacred record and history is against it.

Historical criticism has conclusively shown that Ignatius gave expression to the popular belief, when he represented that the colleges of Elders-Bishops, were successors of the Apostles. There is not, however, the slightest evidence that the representatives of these colleges generally received ordination of any kind from anybody.

We are far from the truth when we think of the college of Elders-Bishops, of one of the New Testament Churches, as corresponding with the corps of Clergy in a large Parish of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The position occupied by them was much more closely analogous to that of vestrymen in one of our Churches. None of the Elders-Bishops had ordinarily anything to do with the conducting of the Services, except their chairman whose position would correspond very nearly with that of the senior warden of a vestry, much more so than that of the rector of a parish.

The chairman of the college of Elders-Bishops was a layman on exactly the same footing as the other members of the college, and in this respect the college was on precisely the same level as the rest of the Church. The chairman was elected by his fellow Elders-Bishops to the headship of the college. This chairmanship did indeed, carry with it the privileges of conducting public Services of worship and prophesying, and especially of presiding

at the common memorial meal, when there was no itinerant Apostle, Prophet, or Evangelist present to assume this leadership. But in the exercise of these functions he acted more in the capacity of a lay reader than of a rector of a parish.

In the New Testament Church there was no local ministerial officer corresponding to the modern rector or pastor. What there was of such ministerial rectorship, or pastorship, or headship, was exercised by the college of Elders-Bishops as a whole. But their influence or authority was strictly, at least in the beginning, of the unofficial, leadership sort, like that exercised by a vestry or board of elders, rather than of the official, dictatorship kind, such as some of our younger clergy seek to exercise.

The idea of an official Christian ministry which was in any essential, Sacerdotal respect separate and distinct from the laity had not, in New Testament times, entered the mind of anybody. That idea did not begin to come in until the third or fourth generation of Christians, and then it was carried over by undigested converts from Judaism and Heathenism with their priestly conceptions of a religious Ministry. These conceptions were not only foreign to Christianity, but also originally to Judaism.

V.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ is essentially doctrinal, not institutional. He taught doctrines. He did not found a Church.

In discussing the question of whether or not Jesus

founded a Church, a question which has a fundamental relationship to the Level Plan for Church Union, we should bear in mind the facts that the word "Church," like that of "State," is exceedingly indefinite as to the character of the institution to which it refers, and that from the beginning there has been a strong tendency to carry the ideas of the fourth, fifth, sixth and even much later generations back into the third, second and first generations.

At least in popular and general usage we, with one breath, speak of inorganic Quakerism as a Church, and with the next of organic Romanism as such. There is no doubt that, according to the root meaning of the word "Church," both of these ecclesiastical institutions are equally entitled to use it as a designation; and yet the difference between them is greater than the difference between the mighty British Empire and one of the feeble little Republics of Central America. Thus, in our use of the word, "Church" we may, as to the degree of organization in mind, mean almost everything or nearly nothing.

The experts in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities are quite unanimous in the opinion that the Church, down to at least the third generation of Christians, was of the Quaker type, that is to say, a Church in the inorganic sense of the term, an informal association or brotherhood.

The passages in the New Testament and early patristic literatures which give the impression that Christianity started out as a formal organization with an official Ministry and a sacramental system are explained on the

hypothesis that they are so many evidences of editings, by which later developments and doctrines were carried back into primitive conditions. The simplicity of Christianity, both from its doctrinal and institutional sides, during the first two or three generations can scarcely be realized by those who read these literary remains through the spectacles of the prepossessions which are furnished to its members by any of our Churches except perhaps the most out-of-the-way Quaker associations.

There are certain striking and illuminating parallelisms between the institutionalism of primitive Christianity, about which people generally know very little, and modern Methodism which is well known to all. I have some hesitancy in drawing these parallelisms, because of the difficulty in doing so without giving a shock to the reader's sense of propriety, or laying myself liable to just censure for irreverence.

The Lord Jesus Christ and His disciple, John Wesley, were adherents of the established Church of their respective nations. Wesley was devotedly so. Jesus and His Apostles continued in their Church and Wesley claimed to the last that he remained in his.

Both Christianity and Methodism started out as very simple, unpretending, religious associations. Afterwards they became more formal societies, then sects, and finally Churches.

Both Jesus and Wesley had apostles. Jesus was a Layman and without exception His Apostles were laymen. Wesley was an Anglican Presbyterian but the great majority

of his apostles were laymen. Jesus and Wesley appointed their apostles without any reference to the people; but they made these appointments as leaders not as officers. Jesus never said anything or did anything in an official capacity; for a long time, if not indeed always, this was true of Wesley.

Wesley was the leader and founder of the inorganic Methodist association, or brotherhood and he lived to guide its comparatively rapid development until it reached the very threshold of organic ecclesiasticism. Jesus did not live to have anything to do with the direction of the tendencies which finally separated the associations or brotherhoods of His followers from the Jewish and Heathen Churches into the Christian, ecclesiastical organizations of which we have accounts in the early Christian writings. Of course He had nothing to do with the increasingly large confederations of those primitive Congregational Churches which were consecutively formed with the development of the mighty Catholic Church.

In the nature of things the founders of associations or Churches cannot have the successors which the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession postulates. So far as this observation concerns Wesley, it is about as self-evidently true as any fact of history can well be. Yet, in his case, there is an essential feature of the doctrine that is true of him that is not of Jesus. The Bishops of the Methodist Churches, throughout the world, have been ordained to their high offices by the laying on of the hands of Bishops, who, in turn, received such ordination back in an uninter-

rupted succession to Coke and Asbury who were appointed and ordained by Wesley. It is not true of the representatives of any branch of the "Historic" Episcopate that they received such ordination from the first Apostles who were appointed by Jesus. It is not likely that Jesus laid hands on the Twelve at all, and it is certain that He did not lay hands on St. Paul.

The conception of God the Father or God the Son as being either in Person or by His representatives the founder and ruler of an organic civil or religious kingdom is really non-religious in character. The doctrine of the freedom of the human will is one of the fundamentals of religion, and it excludes the idea of the imperial, official ruling of man by God. The world is indeed governed by God, but His government is by the sway of leadership. Jesus was neither King nor Priest in the Imperial and official sense of the terms.

There are some things which the religious conception of God denies even Him the power to do. So far as God the Son is concerned, among such moral impossibilities is the power to assume the office and to exercise the functions of an official Priesthood. Being Divine, Jesus could not, or at least would not, fulfill the expectations of those who would have Him become supreme Priest, any more than He could or would fulfill an analogous expectation respecting the over-Kingship of the world.

If Jesus could not be King and Priest in the Imperial sense of Kingship, or in the official sense of Priesthood it was because it is against the very constitution of the

moral universe that He should be such, and this being the case He could not delegate to the Apostles such authority and prerogatives as the Sacerdotal conception of the Christian ministry affirms Him to have given them.

Jesus did indeed, say to His most trusted Apostles, "As My Father hath sent Me even so send I you." Sacerdotalists interpret this to mean that the Father exercised authority in sending the Son, and that, therefore, the Apostles were sent by the Divine authority of Jesus. But God exercised love; not authority in sending Jesus, and He was sent as a Prophet, not Priest.

When the Pharisees asked Jesus, "By what authority doest Thou these things?" the answer was to the effect, "The authority of a great love and of ability to do what love demands for the world's saving." In the moral, religious sense there is no arbitrary Divine authority.

One among the several learned and independent thinkers who was kind enough to read critically the manuscript of this book, made a comment respecting this conclusive point against the Sacerdotalists of such pertinency and excellency that I am taking the liberty of quoting it. I wish that I felt free to connect it with the critic's name, but unfortunately, I do not. However, the comment will stand on its own merits and I hope that it will be read more than once by many a Sacerdotalist.

"The mistake of the Church has been in supposing that it had authority in realms in which its 'writ does not run.' It has no authority to do anything but proclaim the Gospel of salvation; no authority outside the realm

of spiritual appeal. Surely no other authority was ever exercised by the Christ during His earthly Ministry; and He could hardly have meant to convey to His Apostles what He Himself furnished no evidence of possessing in His relation to men. It should never be lost sight of for one moment that Jesus was sent to the Cross by an authoritative Church; a Church which supposed itself acting for God and in the service of true religion, the only true religion, when it exercised authority to define the limits within which truth should appeal to the souls of men.

“Scribes and Pharisees undoubtedly had authority to submerge and silence Jesus, if they could, by teaching a better Gospel than His; by rendering to humanity more effective service than His; but the moment they declined to match their truth and their service against His, they denied themselves all authority to deal with Him in any way whatever, all authority save the authority of evil to war against good, of hell to defy Heaven.

“The modern Sacerdotal Church joins hands with the Sanhedrin, whenever it says to any other Church: ‘I have authority to command your obedience, which is something quite apart from the question as to whether or not the essential Gospel I proclaim is better than the essential Gospel you proclaim, or the redemptive service I am rendering more or less effective than the service you are rendering.’ To lay claim to such authority is to lay claim to what can by no possibility be conceived of as within the limits of the moral or spiritual realm. And

what business has any Church outside this realm? Certainly no Christly business."

It is true that John and Charles Wesley, and some others who joined them, were Priests in the established Church, and it is also true that, before the close of the New Testament period, several Priests of the Jewish Church identified themselves with the associations that had been formed by the followers of Jesus. But neither did these Anglican Priests nor those Jewish Priests exercise their Ministry, as Jewish or Anglican Priests, in relationship to the new society with which they respectively identified themselves.

The Ministries which soon developed in the case of both the Apostolic and Wesleyan religious associations were, at the beginning, in the strictest sense of the term, lay ministries, the representatives of which performed no priestly function. They preached, but in doing this they did not consider that they were usurping priestly prerogatives.

We read of at least one instance of a layman who in apostolic times preached the Gospel more eloquently than it was preached by even the great St. Paul. This man was Apollos. His is an interesting and instructive case. It is in itself quite sufficient to prove that the laity have a right and are, therefore, expected to preach the Gospel according to their ability and opportunity; for we have in this narrative two laymen, Apollos and Aquila, and also one lay-woman, Priscilla, who preached, or what is the same thing, taught the saving truths of Christ's

Gospel. Really every Sunday School teacher in the land is a preacher, and some among them are very able preachers.

When certain of the Apostles found a man who was not of their number, or even a professed follower of Christ, casting out devils and healing the sick, they reported it to their Master with disapproval. Instead of sympathizing with them in their narrowness, He said, "Forbid them not; for there is no man which shall do a miracle in My Name that can lightly speak evil of Me." "For he that is not against us is on our part." "For whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in My Name, because ye belong to Christ, verily, I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward."

Nor did the representatives of the primitive Christian ministry of leadership and service think that they were performing priestly acts in baptizing, in administering the Lord's Supper, or in sending out preachers of the Gospel by the laying on of hands in ordination. Originally, all this was done by laymen.

A proof that a Sacerdotal Ministry is not native to Christianity and that it was not derived from the Old Testament is the fact that organic Christianity owes its existence to the Gentiles rather than to the Jews. Jesus had nothing whatsoever to do, and His original Apostles not much with these ecclesiastical developments. The real organizers of the followers of Jesus into Churches were St. Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, Ignatius, Cyprian, Constantine and the Popes.

St. Paul occupies much the same relationship to organic Christianity as a whole that John Wesley does to the Methodist Church in particular. Jesus' relationship was and is to all His individual followers and even to all those who are trying to be obedient to the heavenly voice, as heard through their consciences whether or not they belong to any Church.

How far St. Paul, the organizing genius of Christianity, was from adopting the Old Testament Sacerdotal system may be judged by the fact that he openly proclaimed that "Christ is the end of the law." There can be no doubt that "end" is used here as a synonym of abrogation, and "law" of the Sacerdotal requirements.

I am among those who hold that the many efforts which are happily being made to bring together the Protestant Churches, will demonstrate the absolute indispensability of the headship of the Episcopate. But the importance of this institution is due to the fact that it has been providentially developed from the people, for the meeting of exigencies requiring a ministry of natural service, not constituted by Christ as a means for the perpetuation of a supernatural officialism. It will be clearly perceived by all who approach the subject from a scientific point of view, that an institution which can serve a unifying purpose could not be based upon the caste hypothesis of the Christian ministry; but that it must be a development according to the Republican theory of that Ministry. We want unity for missionary purposes; but the cooling down of the marvelous missionary enthusiasm of the

early Church was contemporaneous with the ascendancy of the imperial or caste idea of the Christian ministry. Let that idea secure the ascendancy in the Episcopal Church, and as certainly as the sun rises and sets she will be switched to one side as a useless little antiquated sect. The Republican spirit is, in essence, the spirit of the Christ, and it will more and more take possession of men's hearts and minds until it covers the whole earth as the waters cover the sea. "One is your Master and all ye are brethren; He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." This is the glorious Gospel that will finally triumph. The world, the flesh and the devil will not forever be able to withstand the pure, unadulterated Republicanism of the Gospel.

VI.

The custom of ordaining to the Christian ministry by the laying on of hands, as an institution of general observance and recognized importance arose with the monarchical Episcopate. The representatives of this institution, who constituted the first official Christian ministry, owed originally, their position to election by their fellow Elders-Bishops to the chairmanship of the unofficial college. At first, and for a considerable period, when the election was followed by ordination, which was not generally the case, those who did the electing also did the ordaining to the Episcopal office.

This office started out as strictly a congregational institution, so much so that a representative of it had not only no official position outside of the congregation of which he was the head, but he had no relationship to the Episcopal heads of other congregations. There was unity between the New Testament Churches, but it was spiritual, not organic. It was the inorganic unity, so much lost sight of in our day, of "the Communion of Saints." The representatives of the various unofficial, peripatetic Ministries, in their pilgrimages among the brotherhoods, did much to promote this spiritual unity. The imperative necessity for co-operative works of brotherly love and mercy, and also the dire necessity for standing by each other in times of persecution, had much to do with bringing about the organic unity which by the beginning of the fourth century had everywhere become such a marked characteristic of the rapidly multiplying followers of the crucified Nazarene.

After a time the congregational Episcopal heads formed associations or colleges of their own, which, though at first purely unofficial in character, soon came to bear a semi-official relationship to the congregations which were represented in them by their heads. Cyprian, a man of high character, and great ability, who flourished, as the Episcopal head of the African Church at Carthage, from A. D. 248 to 258, was the genius of organization who, so far as the province of the Roman government to which Carthage belonged was concerned, carried out the idea of consolidating the representatives of the Epis-

copate into colleges, which, respectively, would bear a relationship to the Churches of the several provinces such as the colleges of Elders-Bishops bore to their congregations. This institution gradually became universal.

The Episcopal heads of congregations in their collegiate conferences passed resolutions which naturally had great weight with the people. Among such resolutions was one which reserved to representatives of that body the right of ordaining to the Episcopate.

With the development of officialism in the Christian ministry there came a time when the representatives of the Presbyterial and Diaconal grades of it were also ordained. The right of Elders or Presbyters to ordain by the laying on of hands, which was exercised by them before the rise of provincial councils, has never been quite given up, at least not in theory, by any of the Churches. Nor was the ordination of Bishops by Presbyters wholly discontinued until long after Cyprian's time. The Church at Alexandria was notoriously slow, and the Church of Rome was not far ahead of her, in abandoning the custom of ordaining their Bishops at the hands of the local college of Presbyters.

The intercessory prayer upon which the benefit, or grace of sacramental ordinances is chiefly dependent, is the prayer of the Church as a whole, not of the officiating Minister alone. In the case of the prayers connected with the administration of the Sacraments, whether it be the baptism of an infant or the ordination of a Bishop, the

Minister is simply the servant of the people, appointed by them in order that they might have a leader.

Baptisms, Confirmations, Holy Communions, Marriages and Ordinations, are then in reality administered by the people. It is true of every prayer and act of the whole system of worship that it is the people's prayer and act. In so far as the Minister prays and acts on his own responsibility, he does so as one of the people. Except only in matters of administrative function, the Ministers through whom the People administer their sacramental ordinances, or perform any other acts of worship, are on exactly the same level with themselves.

The sacramental rite of Ordination to the Christian ministry has, like the sacramental rite of Baptism, the effect of changing the relationship of the recipient. The Sacrament of Baptism changes the receiver of it from a place outside to one inside the Church. This change is baptismal regeneration. The Sacrament of Ordination changes the receiver of it from the common unofficial Ministry to the official ministerial office.

The Lord Jesus Christ, in becoming Incarnate, divinized human nature, of which every representative of mankind is an equal partaker with any and all others, making such a differentiation between men as that which is supposed by Sacerdotalists in the Church and Imperialists in the State to be created by a consecration or a coronation, or an inauguration, to be beyond the range of possibilities.

It has been objected that if a supernatural effect be denied to the sacramental rite of Ordination, there is no

reason why it should not be denied to all other Christian rites, not excepting even the two great Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

My answer to this objection, so far as it makes against the doctrine of the universality of the Christian priesthood, is that I do not deny supernatural effects to any sacramental ordinance. On the contrary, I admit that all such ordinances are supernaturally efficacious. But to say that the efficacy or benefit annexed to a Sacrament is supernatural is by no means necessarily to postulate that the Sacrament itself is supernatural, or that the administrator of it requires a supernatural endowment, except in the general sense in which the supernatural must be associated with all things, and acts. There is so much of supernaturalness connected with this life, and with all that contributes to make it what it is, that the difficulty is not to find where the supernatural is, but where it is not. Mrs. Browning gives expression to a profound truth where she says: "Earth is crammed with Heaven, and every common bush afire with God." The subject of the supernatural in the Sacraments will be considered more fully in Lecture III.

The laying on of hands which was a part of the ceremonial connected with the sending out of St. Paul and St. Barnabas as missionaries from the Church at Antioch had nothing to do with ordination to an official Ministry of any grade. This observation is equally true of that laying on of hands by which, according to Sacerdotal tradition, the colleges of Elders-Bishops were established

in the several Churches, and Sts. Timothy and Titus were set apart to the Episcopate.

That these instances of the laying on of hands were in no way connected with the institution of ordination to the several grades of the official Christian ministry, as ultimately established in all branches of the historic Church, is proved by the fact that the ordinations of which we have accounts did not give the ministerial character which the ordinations after the time of Cyprian were generally supposed to give.

This is perfectly evident in the case of St. Paul; for no Sacerdotalist contends that, so far as ministerial character is concerned, ordination put anything into or upon him which he did not already possess. And if this be admitted of St. Paul's ordination, the same admission must be made of St. Barnabas. For, though there is no evidence that he had been, like St. Paul, directly appointed to the Apostleship by the Lord Himself, yet there is no ground upon which it can be claimed that ordination by the Church of Antioch did more for him than was done for St. Paul.

No Sacerdotalist pretends that St. Paul received ordination at the hands of the Eleven or any of them. Even Bishop Gore, with all his erudition and ingenuity, has utterly failed to produce so much as a scrap of evidence in support of the contention that St. Barnabas was ordained by them. This being the case, it is not at all likely that any one will succeed in setting aside Dr. Hort's most conclusive showing to the effect that St. Barnabas

was a layman, and that the Antiochian Elders who ordained him and St. Paul were laymen. He also shows with a crushing conclusiveness, that Ananias of Damascus who baptized St. Paul was a layman.

This conclusion holds also in the cases of any ordinations for which St. Paul may have been responsible, or in which he may have taken part. For surely it will not be pretended that in the laying on of hands by which he set apart candidates to the Ministry, he did more for them than was done for him at the Antiochian ordination. The Elders of St. Paul's Churches and his co-laborers, Timothy and Titus, like the Eleven, Barnabas and himself, were Laymen.

No one who, with an open mind, has attentively read Professor Hort's "The Christian Ecclesia," after reading Bishop Gore's "The Church and the Ministry," will fail to perceive the hopeless futility of the Bishop's strenuous effort to make it appear that the representatives of the colleges of Elders, of whom we read in the New Testament, had received ordination to the Apostolate, or Episcopate by the Eleven or by St. Paul. Scientific historical criticism has completely exploded the traditions upon which he rests this Sacerdotal contention, and proves, beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt, that the New Testament Elders were laymen, even as the representatives of all other branches of the Ministry of the Divine Layman, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers, Pastors and Deacons, were laymen. They were laymen, quite as really so as the representatives of a vestry in the Protes-

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tant Episcopal Church, or as a board of elders in a Presbyterian Church, or as a board of trustees in the Methodist and other Protestant Churches are laymen.

It is impossible to state the fact that Jesus and His Apostles were Laymen, more strongly or confidently than the revelations of the scientific experts in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities fully justify; and I for one feel it to be my bounden duty, by line upon line, and precept upon precept, to give this fact all the emphasis that the words at my command will admit of; for I am fully convinced that in its general recognition, which, thank God, to all appearance is an inevitable event of the twentieth century, lies, humanly speaking, the only hope for that unification of Christendom of which not only the world, but also Christianity itself, stands in such great need.

The religion of the Gospel was at the beginning a Laymen's Movement; and, if ever the world is to be evangelized we must return to first principles. The most hopeful sign on the thoughtful, discerning Christian's horizon at this time is the Laymen's Missionary Movement.

Not that the official Christian ministry is to be abandoned; for that is no more possible or desirable in the case of a Church than is the abandonment of official ministerialism on the part of a State; but that the Sacerdotal conception of the Ministry as a mediatorial caste, the representatives of which are lords over God's heritage, the custodians and dispensers of the Christ-life and grace, must give place to the Republican conception of it as a Ministry of brotherly service and leadership in the works

of love, on a natural basis which leaves room for the recognition of the leader as a master workman, but still only a worker, on essentially the same level as the fellow workers whom he serves and leads.

VII.

It is an interesting fact, one that is wholly irreconcilable with the Sacerdotal theory of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry, that the only doctrine of Apostolic Succession of which the primitive Church knew anything, did not involve the idea of an unbroken series of ordinations, upon which the right to rule the Church and the power to validly administer the Sacraments are dependent.

It was held that the college of Apostles bore witness to the teaching of Christ, and that, after that college had died out, this witness was borne in each Church by a college of Presbyters. This Presbyterate was regarded by the Church of every city as occupying a position which was entirely analogous to that of the Apostolate in the Church of Jerusalem. This idea was a sub-apostolic growth.

The development of a monarchical official Episcopate out of the college of unofficial Elders or Bishops, of which college the first representatives of the Episcopate were the first among equals as chairmen, carried with it a strong and, indeed, inevitable tendency to transfer in the case of each Church, the Apostolic Succession over from the unofficial college of Presbyters to the official individual Bishop.

For several centuries after the New Testament times, Christianity was in great jeopardy on account of a strong tendency to corrupt its doctrine. During, say, the first two hundred years of this period an Apostolic Succession was insisted upon by means of which the true doctrine of Christ was held to have been preserved and handed down. But afterwards, when a centralized authority was felt to be of paramount necessity, Apostolic Succession came to be regarded as also a channel through which the Congregational Bishops derived an official authority from Christ through His Apostles to rule the Church of God.

Down to the middle of the second century the Bishops were supposed to receive all their authority from the people by election and appointment, as do the Presidents of our United States. No one had any more thought of a tactual succession from the Lord and His first Apostles being necessary to constitute Apostolic Succession, than we have of such a succession from George Washington being necessary to our presidential succession.

Mr. Taft is a successor of George Washington, not because he and his predecessors were inaugurated as Presidents of the United States by an unbroken series of ceremonies corresponding to ordination, in which a surviving President or the surviving Presidents took part, but because he was elected by the people, inaugurated by their representatives and because he holds the same relationship to the people that George Washington did. The President has always been inaugurated by the Chief Justice of the United States; but if, by the will of the people, a

justice of the peace, or a policeman, or even the humblest private citizen, had inaugurated Mr. Taft, he would be none the less the successor of George Washington than he now is, notwithstanding his inauguration by the head of the Supreme Court.

Thus we see that succession in any office, whether that of a Bishop of a Congregation, or of a Diocese of confederated Congregations, or that of the Governor of a State, or of the President of a confederation of States, depends upon the people, even as the continuity of a social institution whether Family, State or Church is dependent upon the people.

But in the course of time the idea that the succession was derived from Christ through the Apostles from one Bishop to another by ordination took root and prevailed. This is the Sacerdotal idea of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry. This doctrine, like all other Sacerdotal doctrines, has failed to endure the light of historical criticism which reveals it to be fictitious.

As Republicanism is the most consistent expression of the Gospel on its institutional side, and as Republicanism is here to stay, nothing could be a greater misfortune to the Anglican Communion than the triumph of the large and influential party, which stands for the Mediæval theory of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry.

VIII.

The Level Plan for Church Union has among its underlying postulates the affirmation that the organic unification of Christendom, of which the world stands in such great need, must be the result of its reorganization by an evolutionary process. If the theories respecting the origin of the primitive Church as a Catholic organization and of the Christian ministry as an official institution which I am advocating are in line with the facts of history, it has been made to appear that, should the Churches want to get together they are perfectly free to set on foot the requisite reorganization movement. No doubt, such a movement would encounter many and great obstacles, but, contrary to the representations of Sacerdotalists their character would not be such as to render them insuperable. The barriers to reunion are, as to their character and magnitude, neither essentially different nor any greater than those which prevented the American Colonies from getting and keeping together in order that in the United States we might have a great nation.

That our representations to this effect are in exact alignment with the revelations of the science of historical criticism will be evident from the following summary and quotation from Professor Hatch's great work on *The Organization of the Early Christian Church*. The masterly character of this work may be judged by the fact that it has stood as a Gibraltar of Republican Protestantism against every attack of Sacerdotalism. Professor Har-

nack, the prince among the authorities in Church history, was so impressed with this original and brilliant attack upon the Sacerdotal position that he thought it worth while, so to speak, to make it the peg upon which to hang some of the most important results of his own great labors in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities. Accordingly, he was at the pains of translating and annotating the work, in order that the Germans might have the benefit of its light upon the origin of Christian institutions.

In Lecture V, entitled, "Clergy and Laity," Professor Hatch shows from references to the ancient authorities, that, in the minute accounts of the admission to the office of Bishop given in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and by Cyprian, A. D. 258, and Jerome, 420, no mention whatever is made of the imposition of hands and then proceeds to say:

"It follows from this that the rite was not universal; it is impossible that if it was not universal it can have been regarded as essential.

"The conception of office was that of order: by virtue of their appointment the officers of the Christian communities were entitled to perform functions which in themselves were the functions of the whole Church or of individual Christians. Ecclesiastical office existed, no doubt, by Divine appointment, but by Divine appointment only 'for the edifying and well-governing' of the community. Of the existence of the idea that ecclesiastical office in itself, and not as a matter of ecclesiastical regulation and arrangement, conferred special and exceptional

powers, there is neither proof nor reasonable presumption."

Professor Hatch then states the three causes which led, "in the slow course of years" to the conception that ordination does confer "special and exceptional powers" and that the Christian ministry is a Priesthood:

"1. The wide extension of the limits of Church membership. Professing Christians adopted the current morality. And there grew up a distinction between clerical morality and lay morality which has never passed away.

"2. The second cause was the intensity of the sentiment of order. The conception of civil order under the Imperial régime was very different from the conception of it in modern times, and in Teutonic societies. The tendency of our own society is to have the greatest amount of freedom that is compatible with order; the tendency of the Empire was to have the greatest amount of order that is compatible with freedom. Civil order was conceived to be almost as divine as physical order is conceived to be in our own day. In the State the head of the State seemed, as such, by virtue of his elevation, to have some of the attributes of a divinity; and in the Church the same 'Apostolical Constitutions' which gave as the reasons why a layman may not celebrate the Eucharist, that he has not the necessary dignity, call the officer who has that dignity 'a god upon earth.' When, in the decay of the Empire, the ecclesiastical organization was left as the only stable institution it was almost inevitable that those who preserved the tradition of imperial rule should, by the

mere fact of their status, seem to stand upon a platform which was inaccessible to ordinary men.

“3. The third cause was the growth of an analogy between the Christian and the Mosaic dispensations. The existence of such an analogy in the earliest times was precluded by the vividness of the belief in the nearness of the Second Advent. The organization of the Christian Churches was a provisional arrangement until ‘the Lord should come.’ There was a keen controversy whether Christianity was inside or outside Judaism; but there is no trace of a belief that the ancient organization was to be replaced, through a long vista of centuries to come, by a corresponding organization of the Christian societies. But after the Temple had long been overthrown and its site desecrated—after the immediate return of the Messiah to a temporal reign in Judea had passed from being a living faith to be a distant hope—after the Christian Churches had ceased to circle round Jerusalem and had begun to take the form of a new spiritual empire wide as the Roman Empire itself, there grew up a conception that the new *Ecclesia Dei*, whose limits were the world, was the exact counterpart, though on a larger scale, of the old *Ecclesia Dei* whose limits had been Palestine.

“With an explanation in the one case—which shows that the conception is new, with a hesitating timidity in the other case—which shows that it had not yet established itself, Tertullian and Origen, speak of Christian ministers as Priests. It was a century and a half after the time of Tertullian and Origen before the analogy came to be

generally accepted, or before the corollaries which flowed from it found general expression in literature; but, when once established, it became permanent, and in the course of those weary wastes of years which stretch between the ruins of the Empire and the foundation of the modern kingdoms of the West and North it became not only permanent but universal.

“ But in earlier times there was a grander faith. For the Kingdom of God was a Kingdom of Priests. Not only the ‘ four and twenty elders ’ before the throne, but the innumerable souls of the sanctified upon whom ‘ the second death had no power,’ were ‘ Kings and Priests unto God.’ Only in that high sense was Priesthood predicable of Christian men. For the shadow had passed; the Reality had come; the one High-Priest of Christianity was Christ.”

THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION.

LECTURE II.

STATEMENT OF THE PLAN.

- I. THE VARIOUS PLANS.
- II. THE LEVEL PLAN.
- III. THE CHIEF OBJECTIONS.

“THROUGHOUT THE MISSION FIELD THERE IS AN EARNEST AND GROWING DESIRE FOR CLOSER FELLOWSHIP, AND FOR THE HEALING OF THE BROKEN UNITY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST. WE DESIRE TO EXPRESS OUR WHOLE-HEARTED AGREEMENT WITH THOSE WHO TOOK PART IN THE GREAT CONFERENCE AT SHANGHAI, IN HOLDING THAT THE IDEAL OBJECT OF MISSIONARY WORK IS TO PLANT IN EVERY NON-CHRISTIAN NATION ONE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. WE SHALL NEVER GET EVERYONE TO AGREE REGARDING ANY ELABORATE STATEMENT OF DOCTRINE, OR ANY ONE FORM OF CHURCH POLITY. IF WE WAIT FOR THIS WE MUST WAIT FOREVER. THE UNITY TOWARDS WHICH WE MUST STRIVE MUST BE ONE WHICH ALLOWS THE LARGEST POSSIBLE ROOM FOR DIVERSITY. ALL THAT WE CAN DO IS TO RECOGNIZE THE ESSENTIAL UNITY UNDERLYING THE DIFFERENCES OF WESTERN CHRISTENDOM, AND TO UNITE IN FREE INTER-COMMUNION THE CHURCHES PLANTED BY THE DIFFERENT CHRISTIAN BODIES, RESERVING TO EACH SECTION THE RIGHT TO ADHERE TO ITS OWN FORM OF DOCTRINE AND POLITY. IN THE MEANTIME THERE IS MUCH THAT WE CAN DO OF A PRACTICAL KIND TO PREPARE A WAY FOR THE LARGER UNITY THAT IS TO COME. IT IS THE BOUNDEN DUTY OF ALL MISSIONARY WORKERS AND ORGANIZATIONS TO OBSERVE TO THE UTMOST DEGREE POSSIBLE THE PRINCIPLES OF COMITY AND CHRISTIAN COURTESY.”—*From the Report of the Committee of the World's Missionary Conference on Co-Operation and Promotion of Unity.*

STATEMENT OF THE PLAN.

I

THE VARIOUS PLANS.

I.

MY vision of Christian unity may be compared to a great Cathedral. In the course of the quarter of a century during which I have been dreaming of the coming together of the followers of the Lord Jesus into one all-inclusive, comprehensive, Catholic communion, this Cathedral has been radically modified. At first it was a Sacerdotal institution; now it is a Republican institution. So far as it concerned this country, according to its original design, provision was made for all the People in one great Nave and for all the Clergy in one Chancel. There was only one Pulpit from which all would hear the preaching of the Gospel, one Font and Altar to which all would come for the Sacraments.

This, in general outline, was the plan of my Unity Cathedral while I was of the Sacerdotal way of thinking. Some years ago I abandoned Sacerdotalism for Republicanism, and my Unity Cathedral as it now stands, is modeled after the Heavenly mansion, in which there are many rooms; and after the noble conception of the great ecclesiastical statesman, Henry Codman Potter, which is being materialized in the unique, cosmopolitan Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York City.

In this magnificent structure there is to be an immense Nave, in which all Christians, irrespective of nation, race, language or denomination, are to have an equal right. This Nave represents the unity of "the Communion of Saints." There are also Chapels to be built round about this Cathedral and connected with it, in which only the representatives of the nation, or of the race, or of the family of the race for which they are respectively erected, are to be on the same footing. These Chapels, connected as they are with the Cathedral, represent the Christian unity of organic federation, which, as I now believe, is the only organic unity that can reasonably be hoped for that will enable Christians to accomplish the great two-fold mission of preaching the Gospel abroad to all the world and of letting their light shine at home in philanthropic works.

II.

This lecture outlines a plan for the unification of Christendom which, in my judgment, indicates the only way by which the Churches can come together into the unity of confederated co-operation that is necessary to the evangelization of the world. In order that this plan may be contrasted with other plans I will here give a condensed statement of them all.

It could perhaps be shown that there are almost as many plans for securing the requisite unity among Christians as there are Churches; but if we make three groups of the Churches the principles involved in all plans will be sufficiently covered for our present purposes. They are then: (1) the Denominational or Inter-Church Federation Conference Plan; (2) the Roman Plan; and (3) the Anglican Plan.

1. The Denominational, or Inter-Church Federation Conference Plan for union, is a co-operation in philanthropic, missionary and reformatory undertakings, which would not necessarily interfere with organic sectarianism, but would probably crystallize and perpetuate it. From the organic point of view, this plan is diversity without unity. It is an abnormal body without a normal head.

2. The plan of the Roman Church for unity is a submission to and incorporation by the Papacy, which involves the total surrender of their existence on the part of all other national, racial and sectarian Churches. From

the organic point of view, this plan is unity without diversity. It is an abnormal head, without a normal body.

According to my conviction, this plan for Church union, by amalgamation or absorption, is so utterly out of the question as to be undeserving of serious attention. It is not only based upon imperialistic and Sacerdotal principles which are hopelessly antiquated, but it is entirely aside from the whole drift of things as observable in every department of the social realm. Yet I am sorry to say that it is the plan of Roman "Catholics" and also of not a few among our Anglican "Catholics."

3. The plan of the Anglican Communion for Christian unity is the so-called Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral.

This plan has been the center of more interest and discussion than any other plan for Church union that has ever been proposed. It was formulated and promulgated by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States in the year 1886, and accordingly has been before the public for very nearly a quarter of a century. Its introductory resolution, with the four articles from which it derives the name, "Quadrilateral," by which it is popularly known, in the slightly changed form in which it was adopted by the Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops in 1888, reads as follows:

"Resolved that, in the opinion of this (Pan-Anglican) Conference, the following articles supply a basis on which approach may be, by God's blessing, made towards Home Reunion:

"1. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-

ments, as 'containing all things necessary to salvation,' and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

"2. The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

"3. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

"4. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church."

This is, on the part of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an official, and on the part of the other Churches of our Communion, a semi-official promulgation of the basis upon which the Churches of this communion have expressed a willingness to enter into negotiations with other Protestant Churches, with a view of promoting spiritual and organic unity. The plan of union and even the character and the degree of the union are open questions to be decided by the negotiating Churches.

Really the Quadrilateral is a proposed basis rather than a plan for Christian unity. The unexplained phrase, "the Historic Episcopate locally adapted" prevents it from being a plan.

What does "the Historic Episcopate locally adapted" mean? A large part of the Christian world has been asking this question for nearly a quarter of a century. We

have never had the courage to answer it. The reason of our timidity is found in the fact that any answer, which can be given, would commit us against either Romanism or Protestantism, so we have stayed on the fence. All realize that we must get down sometime, on one side or the other, or else make room for both. Our "Catholics" have been strenuously insisting that we ought to go over with the Roman and Greek Churches. Our "Protestants" have been as earnestly contending that we should identify ourselves with the Protestant Churches.

The question of the interpretation of the fourth article of the Quadrilateral is being pressed upon us by the "Catholic" Memorialists against "the Open-Pulpit" Canon xix. They have placed this question before us and kept it there in such a way as to compel an answer. Upon the whole, I am glad of it; because, it seems to me, that in doing this, the Memorialists have rendered a great service to the cause of Protestantism. The 1910 Session of the General Convention, in view of this action, must explain the phrases, "Historic Episcopate," and "locally adapted." The explanation will inevitably identify us with Protestantism rather than with Romanism.

The proposition which I am recommending is a Plan for Church union on the Quadrilateral basis, because it points out a way, I think, the only way, the level way, by which the local adaptation of the Episcopate provided for in the fourth article of that document may be accomplished. This plan, The Level Plan for Church Union, will be outlined and commended in the following section.

The Lecture will then be concluded with a statement of and the reply to the most noteworthy among the objections that have been urged against the plan.

II.

THE LEVEL PLAN.

I.

REALIZING the absolute necessity of the Episcopate to the requisite unification of Christendom, the wise leaders in our Anglo-American Church, at the General Convention of 1886, offered to locally adapt the Historic Episcopate, in, I take it, any way that would contribute most towards bringing about the preliminary confederation and ultimate reorganization of the Churches, of which the cause of Christ and the good of the world stand in such great and imperative need.

There are, so far as I have been able to see, three, and only three, ways in which the Historic Episcopate can be locally adapted. They are these:

1. We might, if our sister and daughter Protestant Churches would have it so, denominationalize our Historic Episcopate by reordaining the Bishops of the Protestant Churches which already have the Episcopal institution, and by creating an Episcopate for the Churches which are without it.

But, for one, I have reached the conclusion that those Churches cannot be brought to the point of consenting to such a one-sided arrangement, for it would imply an inherent superiority in our Ministry which, I think, will never be acknowledged.

In support of this belief, I cite an occurrence at a recent meeting of the New York Church Federation Association at which Bishop Greer presided. This distinguished representative of our Anglo-American Episcopate, who ably administers one of the most important Sees in Christendom, is exceptionally broadminded and tactful. Unless for twenty-five years I have been misinterpreting his utterances, many of which have been generally regarded as being very timely and weighty, he is Protestant to the very core. If circumstances required that he should make a choice between Republican Protestantism and Sacerdotal "Catholicism" he would not, in my opinion, have a moment's hesitation in casting his lot with the former. He voted for the "Brady-Gailor, Republican Open Pulpit" Canon, and if in God's good Providence he is living, he will no doubt promote, by his eloquent advocacy and by his vote, the adoption of the Huntington, Republican Preamble to the Constitution.

It might be supposed that one of Bishop Greer's standing and well known proclivities could say almost anything he pleased to a gathering of Protestant Ministers of the Metropolis. But the criticisms of his speech, upon taking the chair on this occasion, show how very far this is from being the case. Whether seriously or playfully, I do not

know, he suggested that it would contribute greatly towards bringing together the Protestant Churches of New York City, if the Ministers who are without ordination by a representative of the "Historic" Episcopate would come to him for reordination.

The newspaper reports indicate that this suggestion created a general and in many cases even a hot resentment in the Ministers to whom it was made.

Dr. Parkhurst, one of the most distinguished Presbyterian Ministers in America, took the suggestion so much to heart that he wrote Bishop Greer a letter, in which he gave him to understand that there was just as much reason why the Bishop of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church should reordain the Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of New York, as why Dr. Greer should reordain Dr. Parkhurst.

Dr. Price, a prominent Methodist Minister of New York City, devoted a sermon to Christian unity in which he discussed the question, "Shall Bishop Greer ordain our Ministers?" From which sermon the *Tribune* quotes the following spicy passages:

"The truest idea will yet be realized, and all ecclesiastical bodies will be organized into friendly co-operation, with resultant economy of power. The chief obstacle to this is the arrogant claim of the Protestant Episcopal Church based on the so-called Historic Episcopate. This claim is comparatively recent, and history is squarely against it. The Anglican Bishop, Burnet, tells us that up to 1662, Ministers from the non-Episcopal Churches

abroad, who entered the Anglican Ministry were not re-ordained.

“The Protestant Episcopalians are narrower than their creed. Their attitude is out of harmony with the twentieth century. The Apostolic Succession that the Christian world cares most about today is the spirit and power of the Apostles—the courage and faith of Paul, and the love of John.

“The theory of an Historic Episcopate as a basis of union is well enough as an ecclesiastical curiosity to be preserved in a theological museum. A mummy is a good enough thing in its place, but this mummy must not be brought to the banquet table, when the King’s children have assembled to celebrate the feast of reunion.”

The Rev. Dr. Oscar Haywood, the well known Pastor of the Metropolitan Baptist Church of the Covenant, spoke to much the same effect. According to the report published in the *New York World*, he said:

“The invitation issued to evangelical Ministers by a distinguished Bishop of the Episcopal Church to come forward and receive the laying on of hands in ordination, if taken seriously, is an affront to all self-respecting Ministers. It implies an assumption of ecclesiastical superiority which has repeatedly blocked the recurring efforts to consolidate the Denominations.”

There can be no doubt that such utterances are representative of the feeling which prevails almost universally in the Churches which are without the Historic Episcopate. They show how wholly worthless is any plan for the uni-

fication of Christendom which is based upon the assumption that the Ministry of the Churches having the so-called "Historic" Episcopate has something to give by ordination to the Ministers of other Churches, which justifies its representatives in making such offers as Bishop Greer is reported to have made.

2. We might, if all concerned on both sides would have it so, denominationalize our Anglo-American Episcopate, and at the same time denominationalize all other Ministries, by an all round, reordination of a reciprocal character, by which we would avoid the insuperable difficulty connected with a one-sided reordination.

But even this, at first thought, comparatively unobjectionable plan for the denominationalization or local adaptation of our Episcopate, would be strenuously objected to by many on both sides. The representatives of the Sacerdotal "Catholic" School in the Churches of the Anglican Communion could not, I fear, be brought to make the requisite acknowledgment respecting the exchange of benefits; for their contention is, that our Ministry alone has anything to give, and, this being the case, a reciprocal reordination would, to our Sacerdotal brethren, have the character of a farce.

As for the Protestants among us, and as for all those in the other Protestant Churches, we do not favor either a one-sided or a reciprocal reordination as a plan for securing the requisite Common Ministry, because of its Sacerdotalism, or Priestism. We wholly reject the idea that ordination to the Ministry bestows grace in the sense of

character, so as to make the Ministers of say, the Episcopal Church, essentially different from the Ministers of the Presbyterian Church, and to render any representative of one or both of them capable of conveying this character by means of an ordination.

3. From the position to which I have been driven, as the result of my long and earnest study of how the requisite unifying, Inter-Church Episcopate may be secured, it appears that the only way open for the denominationalizing, or locally adapting of the Episcopate, and the attainment thereby of the necessary Common Ministry, is the mutual, level way of pure Republicanism.

If this way were adopted, each non-Episcopal Church, following the example of some among the Methodist Churches, would create its own Episcopate without reference to any other Church.

This way would necessarily be level up to the point where the Denominational Episcopates are created, but it must also lead to a national, ecclesiastical council in which all the Bishops will meet, as representatives of their respective Churches, on exactly the same footing. In the case of our country this council might be legally incorporated and known as, "The United Church of the United States," of which Church the various Denominational Bishops would be the charter members, even as the Apostles were the charter members of the Church of Jerusalem, and in fact of the Church of the world.

The proposed incorporation of the Denominational Bishops into a National Church would not at the begin-

ning reduce, or in any way interfere with, denominationalism. It would constitute a holding body to which all property intended for Interdenominational uses, such as hospitals, orphanages and homes might be deeded. Moreover it would constitute the core about which all the Churches would federate themselves, when in the Father's own good time He answers the prayer of His dear Son for that visible organic unity of Christians, by which the world is to be convinced that God so loved it as to provide for its salvation by the sending of His only begotten Son.

As the result of a large correspondence and much conversation with representative men, I have become fully convinced that no plan for Church union will be adopted that does not rest upon the bed rock of pure Republicanism, or Protestantism. This rock alone can afford a perfectly sure and level basis for the creation of the required Common Ministry. Hence I am advocating a plan which might properly be called, "the Square Deal Plan," for securing this Ministry. This exactly level and square proposition is the interpretation of the fourth article of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral which I am calling my plan for Church union; and which in season and out of season, I am trying to commend to all who will read my writings or listen to my conversations and lectures.

I want to make it perfectly clear that, in advocating the Inter-Church Episcopate or Level Plan for Church Union, I attach no importance whatsoever to the so-called "Historic" Episcopate in itself, or for that matter, to

any other official grade in the Christian ministry of any Church. The plan does indeed hinge upon a Common, Inter-Church Christian ministry of the Episcopal type; but it does not involve the claim that, because of some inherent superiority, the Episcopate must necessarily be "Historic."

When, therefore, I speak of the Episcopate as constituting an indispensable instrumentality for bringing the Churches together, I must, to prevent the misunderstanding of the Level Plan, be understood to be referring, in a general way to the embodiment of the principles of Episcopacy, unity and superintendence under one headship, and not to any particular form of that embodiment.

If any one interprets me as saying that the unification of Christendom is dependent upon the general acceptance of the Anglican embodiment of these principles, he will miss my whole meaning. I have no idea that any existing Episcopate will ever become the Inter-Church Episcopate which is the basis of the Level Plan for Church Union. That Catholic Episcopate remains to be developed and it is likely to be as widely different from any of the Denominational forms, Greek, Roman, Anglican, Methodist, and the rest, as these are from each other.

One of my fundamental assumptions is that Episcopacy in all forms is but the Providential embodiment of the eternal, basic principles of unity and superintendence under one headship upon which federation and co-operation in every department of the social realm is dependent. My

main contention, my thesis, is that, if ever the Churches come together it must be under some national, inter-Church, ministerial headship embodying these principles.

If, according to my theory, the solution of the stupendous problem growing out of our unhappy divisions is not found in a Providential development which will give to the Churches a common, modernized Republican form of the Episcopate, that problem is unsolvable. But our Saviour's prophecy, and the hope which has taken possession of His Disciples, the manifest necessities for Christian unity, and the whole drift towards unification in every other department of the social realm, render it impossible that things are to continue as they are in the religious department of that realm, where unity is supremely important.

II.

It is an essential part of the Level Plan for Church Union that the proposed Inter-Church Episcopate upon which it is dependent shall not be regarded as establishing any immediate organic relationship between the Churches which adopt the plan. A Denomination after the creation of this Episcopate is, according to this plan, to be organically as independent of all other Churches as before.

Spiritual unity having been restored through a Common Ministry, organic unity is to be left to Providential development. In the proposed Inter-Church national council the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church are to be recognized on all hands as occupying exactly the

same footing as the Bishops of the other Churches. When, as the result of the adoption of this plan, organic union does take place, it will not have for its center the Protestant Episcopal or any other sister Protestant Church, but the legally incorporated national council of Bishops of all the Protestant Churches. At first this council will be unofficial, but gradually it will take on an official character.

The Level Plan for Church Union is then no scheme for sectarian aggrandizement. It is Catholic in the truest and broadest sense of the term. If it is carried out, the Church of the United States will be a new organization, as different from any of the existing Churches as they are different one from another. But the United Church of the United States will not be a new Church; for it will contain all the members of the old Churches which enter into the confederation, and it will also contain the survival of the fittest of all the institutions of the old Churches. In other words the proposed national Church will bring forth out of its treasure things both new and old.

There should be no objection to the proposed ultimate reorganization of American Christianity into a national Church upon the ground of the interruption of continuity. For continuity is not broken by reorganization. If it were there could be no such thing as continuity in the history of organic Christianity for all the ancient Churches have been reorganized more than once, and all live Churches, ancient and modern, are in process of reorganization.

The Denominational Episcopate, in the case of each

college of Bishops, is to be wholly independent and autonomous, except only in its relationship to the other colleges of Bishops in the embryonic national Church. To the association effected by the first Denominational Episcopates the Bishops of all other Denominations will be added as they create Episcopates, and form colleges of Bishops.

To this incorporation of Denominational Bishops would be deeded all ecclesiastical property intended for the use of the Christian public. For instance, if the Christians of a city should build a hospital, the property would be deeded to "The United Church of the United States," and all Christians of that place would work through committees of their respective Churches for the establishment, equipment and development of this highly desirable philanthropic institution.

The Inter-Church National council of Bishops would, no doubt, as the result of their conferences, plan and carry through the legislative bodies of the several Churches an equitable arrangement for the division of the foreign mission fields between the Denominations represented in the council by an Episcopal college. In the course of time there would be brought about in this way a consolidation of Churches in rural communities and small villages in the home country, so as to afford them better pastoral care and more regular services.

While our divisions are kept up the Pastors of the Churches are not able to minister satisfactorily to the people. There is a great demand for good preaching and many of our Churches are almost empty because this demand is

not met. But how can a Clergyman who is expected to be a preacher, pastor and Sunday School superintendent, do the work that is necessary for the production of great sermons, especially if he is expected to preach twice on Sunday, conduct a Bible class, and perhaps have two or three addresses in the course of a week? It is simply out of the question that one so burdened with distracting routine work should be able to make the most of the pulpit.

In business concerns, it would be considered absurd to expect so much of any one person. Great businesses are divided up into departments, with their heads and corps of workers. Christian teaching and work is a great business, and yet this most important of all businesses is now conducted along lines that could not possibly succeed in ordinary undertakings. As has often been pointed out, among the proofs of the Divinity of Christianity is the fact that it accomplishes so much under such a poor system.

If one is to be a great preacher, he must devote his time to his sermons. He must be encouraged in his work by large congregations, which will give him inspiration while he is preparing his sermons and delivering them. He must have comfortable surroundings, new books, and the opportunities for travel and seeing something of the world, which can only be had by those who have a comfortable living. No man ought to be expected to preach more than one sermon a week.

There is also a great demand for pastoral work, frequent house to house visiting, and attentive and comfort-

ing ministrations to the sick. The average Pastor who is obliged to do all the preaching on Sunday and make two or three addresses at week day services, and who has the details connected with the organization of the Parish to look after, cannot adequately visit all the members of a large congregation and minister to its sick.

The children of Protestants are being sadly neglected in the matter of systematic, comprehensive instruction. The religious part of their training is largely confined to an hour or an hour and a half a week in Sunday School; and many of the Sunday Schools, as compared with public schools, are very poor institutions. There is, therefore, great need of a Sunday School expert connected with every large Parish. He should be a Clergyman who has made a special study of Sunday School work, and who is unusually qualified to attract and hold the attention of children, and to organize and develop a great religious school. Not only should such a man be at the head of every school, but he should have an adequately large corps of efficient helpers, with whom he could have at least one meeting every week for the purpose of preparing them to teach effectively and carry out his system.

The concentration of Christian educational undertakings that would result from Church union would be a great advantage over the present system of doing this most important work. Perhaps this would be more especially true of the theological education of men for the Christian ministry. Instead of having in each state many incompletely equipped, poorly supported and slimly attended

"Schools of the Prophets," we would have groups of states combined in the support of one great, completely endowed seminary of sacred learning, with a full corps of high grade professors, and with ten times as many students as are now attending any one of the sectarian seminaries of the same territory. Moreover, the professors and students would represent all orthodox Churches; and such a coming together would have beneficial results of great value in many directions.

As time went on, our Denominational Churches would gradually lose interest in themselves, and center it on the national Church, which would increase while they would decrease.

Thus it will be seen that the United Church of our country would be organized on strictly Democratic or Republican principles, so that there would be no more danger of the repetition of the evils of Sacerdotalism in the Church than there is danger of the repetition of the evils of Imperialism in our government.

One of the fundamental assumptions of this plan is that Christian unity in the twentieth century must commence at the top and work down, as it did in the first and second centuries. Christianity would have been sectarian from the beginning without the unifying influence in turn of the colleges of the Apostolate, Presbyterate and Episcopate. And Protestant Christians, it seems to me, must continue sectarian, unless we create an Inter-denominational college of Bishops which will take the place of

the successive colleges of Apostles and Presbyters and Bishops in the early Church.

I feel certain that, when the proposed national Church is once inaugurated, the heads of its Common Ministry, the Denominational colleges of Bishops, in council assembled, will find and indicate ways by which it will be possible to organize a mighty Inter-denominational convention of the Protestant Churches of the United States, in which all the Bishops and a multitude of representative Pastors and Laymen will take part. Then will follow an unofficial International Congress of National Churches, and next, in comparatively quick succession an official Ecumenical council, the one folding, one shepherding and one united, successful effort for the conversion of the world.

The Quadrilateral and the Level Plan are alike, in that they look to the Protestant Churches, rather than to the Roman "Catholic" Church, for setting on foot and sustaining a progressive and successful Church unity movement. Anglican "Catholics" would begin the work of unification at the Roman end of the line, while I, following the lead of the Anglican Communion in her Quadrilateral enactment, would begin at the Protestant end of it.

The two plans, the Quadrilateral and the Level, are in principle the same also, in this important respect that they recognize the fact that the Churches can come together neither on the basis of a Sacerdotal system of doctrine, such as is held by the Greek and Roman Churches

nor upon the Protestant, non-Sacerdotal confessions of faith.

If Christians ever come together into that spiritual and organic unity for which the Lord prayed and upon which He made the conquest of the world for Him to depend, it will be upon an institutional, not a doctrinal basis; and the only institution which can afford the basis for such unity is a national council of Inter-Church Bishops. If Protestants generally were to add a national Episcopate to their Ministries, and if Rome were to uncover her national Episcopates by eliminating the Papacy, the federation of all the orthodox Churches of Christendom into great national Churches, and into one stupendous international Communion, might easily take place before the close of the twentieth century.

The Level Plan contemplates the confederation of all the Protestant Churches of every country into one national Protestant Church; and ultimately for the entrance into this confederation by the republicanized or modernized Roman Church. This being done we would have throughout Christendom mighty national, Catholic Churches. These national Churches would be bound together by an inter-communion through a great world council, or conference, such as now exists between the different Churches of the Anglican Communion.

If, then, the common, Inter-Church Episcopate is the heart of The Level Plan for Church Union, its body is the National and International Council of Bishops.

III.

Since leaving the Sacerdotal ranks, I have insisted that ecclesiastical unity must have the rock of Republicanism for its foundation. I thought I had discovered this absolutely requisite basis, when, in 1904, while studying the Afro-American problem, I conceived the idea of denominationalizing the Anglican Episcopate by a one-sided ordination. But there was something about this arrangement with which I grew more and more dissatisfied.

The cause of my dissatisfaction was the fact that the idea of one Church being able to give something to another Church, say the "Historic" Episcopate, which it could not otherwise possess, is, so far as the underlying principle is concerned, as really Sacerdotal in character as the belief that Gospel grace, and even salvation itself, is in some way inseparably connected with a Priesthood which historically has been devoluted from the Lord Jesus and His Apostles.

My plan for Church union has always hinged upon a Common Inter-Church Ministry. From the first I saw that this Ministry must be of the Episcopal type. But for several years I supposed that it must be of the "Historic" Episcopal type. While endeavoring to prove this to be the case, my investigations and reasonings gradually forced upon me the conviction that I was fundamentally wrong in this assumption, because the basic principle of Gospel Republicanism is, that all men are essentially equal

and that the same is therefore necessarily true of all societies of men, whether domestic, civil or ecclesiastical.

Having been forced to this point of view, I was gradually driven to another position from which I saw that the vastly predominating constituency in nearly all the English-speaking Protestant Churches believe that the Ministry of their respective Churches is as good as that of any other Church whatsoever, ancient or modern; and that, therefore, if Church union is dependent upon a one-sided reordination by which all Protestant Churches will be given the same Ministry of the "Historic" Episcopal type by the Anglican Churches, the doctrines of Christianity and the facts of Christian history being what they are, and human nature being what it is, hope for the unification of Christendom must be abandoned forever.

Since things have gone so far in the direction of Republicanism, the opinion that the Ministry of one Church is in any respect to the slightest degree essentially superior to that which is either already possessed by other Churches or may be created by them for themselves will never again prevail. Therefore, there was nothing for me to do but to give up the idea that the chief problem of my plan for Church union, which problem is how to secure a Common, Inter-Church, unifying Ministry, can be solved by a one-sided reordination.

When this became a settled conviction, I took up with the idea of the Archbishop of Melbourne, as presented by one of the most able among my many sympathetic critics, that there was no way by which the goal of Christian

unity could be reached, except that of a reciprocal reordination. But ultimately I reached a point where I saw that, in principle, there really was no difference between a one-sided reordination and a reciprocal reordination, for in both cases the assumption would be that ministerial character of some kind and degree is given by ordination; and this is the assumption of Sacerdotalism, not of Republicanism, having for its basis tradition, not history.

The realization of the identity of the one-sided reordination and the reciprocal reordination methods of securing the Common Ministry which from the beginning was the essential feature of my plan for Church union, was a growth which did not reach full development until I had worked nearly through the first draft of this book; but from the time that it began to take possession of me, I commenced to see more and more clearly that an Inter-Church Ministry could never be secured by a Sacerdotal reordination of any kind.

The Level Plan for Church Union as I have finally worked it out, does not rest on either the clay of a one-sided reordination, or on the shale of a reciprocal reordination, both of which were found to be insecure Sacerdotal foundations; but upon the solid rock of a purely Republican Inter-Church National council in which the Ministry of every orthodox Church will be represented on an exact level. This council, according to the plan would make provision for a representative Ordaining Committee, through which all the Churches, without compromise of principle, would in the course of a single generation have the same Ministry.

According to this plan as it now securely stands on the rock of pure Gospel Republicanism, if, for example, the Presbyterian Church desires an Episcopate like that of the Methodist Church, her official representatives will not ask the Methodist Church to consecrate such Bishops for her, but she will elect and consecrate them for herself. It is true that when this Episcopate has been created it will not be the Methodist Episcopate. It is equally true, however, that the consecration of its representatives by Methodist Bishops would not have made it a Methodist Episcopate. Organic Methodism is non-transferable.

The Episcopate of the Methodist Church has a history. As far as it goes, its history is just as historic as that of the oldest Episcopate in the world. But the historicity of the Methodist Episcopate could not by ordination be conveyed to a newly created Presbyterian Episcopate. The Presbyterian Episcopate would have a history beginning with the day of its creation; but it would be its own history. The quality of historicity is like the quality of personal identity. As no two persons can have the same identity, so no two institutions can have the same history.

Now there is no more reason for believing that the historicity of the Episcopate of any branch of the Anglican Communion can be conveyed to the Episcopate of any other Church, than that the historicity of the Methodist Episcopate can be conveyed to the Episcopate of the Presbyterian Church. The truth is that the Anglo-American Church does not possess the same "Historic" Episcopate as that of the mother Church of England. The

claim that two institutions like the Episcopates of the English and American Churches can, in any real sense, have the same history is as fictitious as would be the claim that the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States have the same history.

Indeed, even in the same Church, historicity cannot be conveyed from one Bishop to another by consecration. Each Bishop has his own Episcopal history which, under the guidance of Divine providence, he makes for himself. Every Bishop has a history but no Bishop ever receives Episcopal historicity at ordination. Strictly speaking then, there is no such institution as the "Historic" Episcopate in a collective sense, any more than there is an historic Presbyterate, or an historic Diaconate. Historicity, like personality, is non-transferable.

The Historic Episcopate is not in itself, as Sacerdotalists would have us believe, a treasure or asset of some kind on account of which a claim to superiority can be set up and sustained for either the institution as a whole or for the individual representatives of it in particular. Historicity in a Church and its Ministry constitute no better claim to superiority over Churches which are without it, than does historicity in a family and its servants constitute a basis for such a claim.

With the growth of Republicanism, utility, rather than age, is becoming more and more the standard by which, in all departments of the social realm, claims to superiority are judged. It is to the discredit of an old Family, State or Church, if it does not do more for its representatives and

the world than is done by a comparatively new institution of the same kind; for the old should have acquired an ability to do things which would place it above the new.

But the interest of the Lord Jesus was in the new rather than the old. The very word Gospel is gilded with newness. He came to proclaim the gospel of "the good new," not the Gospel of "the good old." And the key word of the good news of Christ's Gospel is "regeneration," the root meaning of which is a renewal of the old. The world's salvation depends upon its regeneration or renewal. Old things must become new. There must be a new heaven and a new earth. All this newness, regeneration, reorganization, renewal, is necessary to save the world.

Thus there is no superiority in the old "Historic" Episcopate, as such, any more than there is in the historic heaven and earth, as such. If they may be replaced by the new, there is no reason why the Historic Episcopate may not give place to a new Episcopate. The fatal mistake of Sacerdotalists is that they attach a value to the old that does not belong to it and is contrary to the teaching of the Gospel. The future is with the new.

The Episcopate as an official institution has existed for a long time, longer I think, than the Presbyterian or Diaconal office. According to my theory the Episcopate was the first development of ministerial officialism in the Christian Church. There were an Episcopate, Presbyterate and Diaconate in the New Testament Church, but they were largely of an unofficial character.

So far as the Church of Jerusalem is concerned we know who were its first Bishops and Deacons. We also know some of the Elders of that Church. But the Episcopate of the Church of Jerusalem, of which we have an account in the New Testament, was not an official institution. The Apostles, the first Bishops, were not officers but leaders. This is also true of Presbyters and Deacons. The Presbyterate and Diaconate as official institutions did not come into existence until after the Episcopate had assumed a monarchical and official character, and this was not in New Testament times.

Ignatius was the father of official Episcopacy. But such an Episcopate was not in existence in his time. In his celebrated epistles, Ignatius, who was martyred, probably in the year 117, almost vehemently prophesied the necessity of a Congregational Episcopacy to that unity of the Church which was felt to be necessary to its preservation and extension. But historical criticism has shown that the Congregational Episcopate of which Ignatius prophesied in his epistles was not in existence any more than is the Inter-Church Episcopate, the necessity of which to the universal extension and full development of the Christian civilization I am prophesying in this book. The Congregational Episcopate as an official institution was not fully developed and firmly established as such until the time of the great Cyprian, who also died as a martyr more than one hundred years after the time of Ignatius.

No doubt there was an embryonic semi-official Congregational Episcopate in many Churches at the death of Ig-

natus, but there is a vast difference between an embryonic institution and one which is fully developed. I now hold in my hand an acorn. It is an embryonic oak; but a hundred years hence no man will hold in his hand that monarch of the forest which will owe its existence to this embryo.

The Inter-Church Episcopate for which I am pleading as earnestly and persistently as Ignatius pleaded for a Congregational Episcopate, and as Cyprian pleaded for an Inter-Congregational Episcopate exists in a more or less fully developed form in every Church in Christendom.

The Baptist Church is perhaps the largest among the Congregational Churches, and it is probably the most intensely Republican of them all. But even the Baptist Church has the Congregational Episcopate for which Ignatius pleaded. The Baptist Church also has an institution, or at least custom, resembling the Inter-Congregational Episcopate which was secured in precisely the same way as the Inter-Congregational Episcopate was secured by Cyprian, that is, by the union of the official representatives of local congregations in particular sections of a country into Associations. In forming such Associations, the Baptists recognized and indorsed not only the principle, but also the method of the Level Plan for Church Union; for in this way they unified the separate independent congregations. The Level Plan proposes to do essentially the same thing for the separate, independent Christian Denominations.

The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is that if the Inter-Church Episcopate and Common, unifying Ministry, upon which so much is dependent, is secured in the twentieth century, it will be by the same method by which it was secured in the third century, that is, through councils and not through ordinations.

IV.

In the light of what has now been said, I believe that the following statement covering three points will make my Inter-Church Episcopate Plan for the reunion of Christendom perfectly clear.

1. The work of unifying Christendom must begin with Protestantism. In interpreting the fourth article of the Church's Quadrilateral plan, I have proceeded upon the theory that the future of every department of civilization is with Republicanism or Protestantism and not with Imperialism or Sacerdotalism.

In the realm of religion, Protestantism stands for Republicanism, and Romanism for Imperialism. Therefore, until Romanism becomes modernized by republicanization, it will continue to be a divisive rather than a unifying force. Hence, those who are hoping for the unity of Christendom through union with the Roman Church, are doomed to disappointment. Romanism will inevitably be republicanized, or what is the same thing, modernized, but not until Protestantism forces Republicanism upon it;

and this Protestantism will do as soon as it is itself sufficiently unified.

The unification of Christendom, according to my plan for Church Union, must be begun, continued, and ended with pure, unadulterated Republicanism.

2. Having determined that the movement looking towards the unification of Christendom, must be of a purely Republican, Protestant character, it remains to decide which among the Protestant Churches will or should take the lead in this movement? It is my conviction that this leadership naturally belongs to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and that, if we are wise, we may have it. I hold to this conviction for three reasons.

(1) This country is naturally the place for the beginning of a world-wide Republican movement, such as is necessary for the bringing of the Churches together.

(2) The Episcopal Church is the American branch of the Mother Church of the English-speaking race, which race is the great republicanizing and unifying power of the world.

(3) The Anglican Communion, of which our Protestant Episcopal Church is a branch, occupies the middle ground between the extremes of Romanism and Protestantism, and, therefore is the most eligible mediator between them.

It would really seem that the English-speaking people have been raised up, in the Providence of God, for the purpose of serving as the link which is to bind together

the nations and Churches of the world. This is pre-eminently the Republican era in the history of mankind, and this people is almost everywhere above all others, the most conservative and efficient exponent and promoter of Republicanism.

The English-speaking people are rapidly spreading all over the face of the earth. In the year 1800 the world's English-speaking population was twenty millions; in 1900, it was a hundred and twenty millions, showing the astonishing increase of one hundred millions within a single century. There never has been anything like this growth in the case of any race. In the same period the Germans, the next most rapidly growing people, increased from thirty to seventy-five millions, a net gain of only forty-five millions, as against the one hundred millions of the English. The French gained about thirty millions, and the Spanish sixteen millions.

The whole movement toward Church unity has for its goal the evangelization of the world. I believe that God has raised up the English-speaking people to take the leadership in this work. Of all the money spent in foreign mission fields, eighty-five per cent is given by this people.

But, all the gold and silver in Christendom would not evangelize the one thousand millions who have not heard the Gospel as long as the Church remains divided; and undoubtedly, for the reasons just stated, we may look to English-speaking Christians more hopefully than to any others for that federation of the Churches

which is necessary for the christianization of the heathen nations.

As it seems to many, both in and out of the Anglican Communion, of all the English-speaking Churches, the Anglican are providentially in the best position to take the leadership in the Church unity movement. The Anglican Churches constitute the Mother Church of the English-speaking race, and, other things being at all equal, the children will, in the long run, gather back around the Mother, rather than one of themselves.

The English-speaking adherents of the several Churches are in round numbers as follows: English-speaking Methodists, all branches, 18,000,000; English-speaking Roman Catholics, 15,000,000; English-speaking Presbyterians all branches, 12,000,000; English-speaking Baptists, all branches, 9,000,000. But the Anglican Churches which are so closely bound together as to practically form one vast co-operative, international federation have 29,000-000 of English-speaking adherents.

Therefore all the Providential indications seem to point to the Churches of the Anglican Communion as the natural leaders, in their respective countries, of the great movement which has for its goal that bringing together of the Churches which is necessary to the universal and complete evangelization of the world.

We conclude then, that the Church unity movement, must begin with Protestantism, and that the beginning should rightly be made by overtures on the part of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This obligation rests upon

her, partly because of the fact that having no connection with the State, she is freer than other national branches of the Anglican Communion to take the initiative.

3. How is the Protestant Episcopal Church to make the beginning and so do her duty in becoming the leader in the great Church unity movement? In the fourth article of her Quadrilateral overture to her sister and daughter Protestant Churches, which was made in the hope of bringing about a unity of federation between them and herself, we have an official answer to this question. I quote the article: "The Historic Episcopate locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church."

But how shall we thus adapt the Historic Episcopate? My answer to this is the Level Plan for Church Union, and briefly stated it is simply this:

(1) Persuade the Churches which are without a general Episcopal form of government to create a Denominational Episcopate of some kind for themselves, as the Methodists and a few others have done.

(2) Unite the Historic Denominational Episcopates which the ancient Churches have inherited, with the un-historic Denominational Episcopates which the modern Churches have created, through an incorporated, national council of Denominational Bishops, in which all the Episcopates, ancient and modern, will be represented on a perfectly level and equal footing.

In this way we may secure to the Protestant Churches

the necessary Common Inter-Church Ministry, which, under present conditions, is the only possible institutional basis for the federation of the Churches.

Note well that the union of the old and the new Episcopates is, according to this Level Plan, provided for, not by reordination or even by the exchange of the right hand of fellowship, but by the joining of all the Bishops of both the ancient and modern Churches, whether diocesan like the Anglican, or non-diocesan like the Methodist, on exactly the same footing in the national incorporated council of Denominational Bishops.

(3) Incorporate this National Council of Bishops into an unofficial association, or embryonic Church to be known in this country as the United Church of the United States, and in other countries by analogous names.

Until that day of unity, for which the Lord prayed and for which His disciples of every name are praying, dawns each separate Denomination may, in accordance with the Level Plan, retain its distinctive name and organization. There would be no organic connection between the several Protestant Churches except an embryonic, national organism at the top, created by the unofficial association on an entirely equal footing of the Episcopal representatives of the several completely autonomous, Denominational Churches.

This embryonic unofficial association of autonomous, Denominational Episcopates would no doubt, with time, take on more and more of an official character; but the whole trend of things in every department of the social

realm in this age, and especially in this country, should be a sufficient guarantee that whatever legislative and administrative rights were ultimately accorded to the proposed national Inter-Church Council of Denominational Bishops would be administered along the lines of extreme Republican principles, and that all developments which would come about as time went on would be along those lines.

The proposed Denominational Episcopate would, at the beginning be almost exactly analogous to the Congregational Episcopate which commenced to take form in the sub-apostolic period and developed so rapidly that within two hundred years from the Ascension it prevailed almost if not quite universally. The trend of that Congregational, Republican Episcopate was, owing to the age in which it arose, and the government under which it flourished naturally and almost irresistibly in the direction of Sacerdotal Imperialism. The trend of the Denominational Episcopate which I am proposing would, with equal inevitableness, be toward non-Sacerdotal Republicanism.

In view of the underlying principles by which the social realm in all its departments is governed and of the consequent history of officialism, I am quite ready to admit that the logical result of the creation of the Common Inter-Church Ministry in accordance with the provision of the Level Plan for Church Union would be, after a long period of development, a highly concentrated government under one headship, in outward form closely resembling the Roman Church with its Papal head. .

But there is no prospect of such an issue which affords any secure basis for an objection to the plan. For it is the heart, not the head and body of Romanism that is wrong. The carrying out of the Level Plan for Church Union would convert the old imperialistic heart, and then, this conversion having taken place, we should have in the Roman Church the best conceivable body and head for the new Catholicism.

The difficulty with Romanism is not the unity of its headship, but the Imperialism thereof. Of course, if Christendom is to be unified, it must have an official head, and I am strongly inclined to think that the ultimate form of that headship must bear some outward, general resemblance to that of the Roman Church. In any event, it must be a headship which is nearly, if not quite, as much a center of unity to Christendom at large, as the Papacy is to the Roman Communion.

If then the Papacy itself were a Republican institution, and if it were identified with the dominant Christian people of the world, it might with much show of reason, be held up as the logical center of the ecclesiastical unity of which the Kindgom of Christ stands in such great need. But the future of every department of civilization, domestic, civil and religious, is with Republicanism; and the English-speaking peoples are the great exponents and champions of Republicanism. Therefore until this spirit of Imperialism gives place to that of Republicanism, the Papacy and its hierarchy will be useless or worse as an instrumentality for the unification of Christendom.

V.

The creation without reordination of an Interdenominational Episcopate for each country through a national council to which the representatives of the inherited Episcopates of the ancient Churches and those of the newly created Episcopates of the modern Churches would be admitted without distinction between them, has an immense advantage as a unifying measure over the proposal to denominationalize the Anglo-American Episcopate, by a one-sided or even a reciprocal reordination; for it would attain the same ends and yet do away with the embarrassing necessity for making a claim of any kind in favor of the Episcopate of the Anglican Churches, which would be sure to be called in question by the other Protestant Churches and so hinder, rather than promote, unity.

If, however, the older Episcopate, in accordance with the claim of Sacerdotalists, has a conveyable gift which the newer Episcopates have not, the Chicago-Lambeth Plan, as interpreted and applied by me, provides for the extension of it to all, not by a reordination of the Bishops already consecrated, but through the ordination of future Bishops by an ordaining committee or commission in which would be represented both the old and the new Episcopates.

Such an arrangement ought to be acceptable to our sister and daughter Protestant Churches, for it would be perfectly level and square. It should also be satisfactory to the "Catholic" school of the Anglican Communion; for

it is in exact alignment with primitive precedent, and if adopted, it would give the Anglican strand of the Apostolic Succession, if there is any such strand, to the whole of American Protestantism, and to the Protestantism of every English-speaking country, within a single generation. From the point of view of " Catholics " this should appear to be a most happy consummation, for it would, on their theory, with the least possible delay, secure valid Sacraments to millions upon millions who are now suffering, if not indeed perishing, for the lack of them.

When the relationship is consummated which the Level Plan for bringing the Churches together contemplates, the reciprocal benefits that will accrue, as the result of the union of the old with the new Churches, will be analogous to the reciprocal benefits of the marriage of an old with a new family. Such unions have often proven to be of inestimable benefit to both families, increasing their influence, and issuing in a new family of much greater vitality and power than either of the families concerned in the union could otherwise have attained.

A coming together of the Churches on the basis of the marriage relationship would be Christian unity of the Republican type, and there is no other basis upon which the unification of Christendom can take place. Unity on the Sacerdotal or Priestly basis, that is, upon a theory which makes the ancient Churches the givers exclusively and the modern Churches receivers only, would be no more possible or satisfactory than would be the union through marriage of an ancient and modern family upon such a basis.

I hold to the conviction that the Common Ministry, upon which the unification of Christendom is dependent, must be of the Episcopal type. But I do not hold that it must or can be exclusively of the "Historic" Episcopate type. I regard the Episcopate as being Divine and indispensable, not because of its historicity, but because it is the embodiment of the essential principles of unity and superintendence under one headship, without which embodiment, under one form and name or another, no great social organization of any kind can exist.

As the very constitution of the social realm proves the Divineness of the principles of Episcopacy, there is no necessity for showing that any particular embodiment of the Episcopal principles such as the Greek, Roman or Anglican is a devolution from the Lord Jesus through His first Apostles. And not only so, but in view of the fact that all other embodiments of these principles in the domestic, civil, ecclesiastical and commercial departments of the social realm, of which embodiments there are many, are known to be due to evolutionary developments, it weakens, if not indeed belittles, any particular ecclesiastical embodiment of them to claim for it a devolutionary origin.

Sacerdotalists insist that the Lord Jesus was a King and a Priest in the Imperial and Sacerdotal sense of the terms, and that His Kingship and Priesthood were representatively conferred upon His first Apostles and their successors. So far they are in practical alignment, but they are not agreed as to the successors of the Apostles who in our own time represent the Divine King and Priest.

The Greek Church, which is very largely Sacerdotal in character, teaches that the successors of the first Apostles are the Bishops of the orthodox Churches who have handed down the faith once delivered to the Saints and bear a continuous unbroken witness to it. They question the orthodoxy of the Roman and Anglican Churches.

The Roman Church which is wholly Sacerdotal in character, teaches that the successors of the first Apostles are they who as Popes of Rome have succeeded to the place of primacy held by St. Peter. In reality this doctrine is that none of the Apostles, except St. Peter, had successors.

The Sacerdotal party in the Churches of the Anglican Communion teaches that the successors of the first Apostles are all Bishops who have been ordained as such by Bishops who can trace their succession back in an unbroken series of ordinations to any among the original Apostles.

The Sacerdotal party in the several Presbyterian Churches say that the successors of the first Apostles are the Elders or Presbyters who can trace their ordination by an unbroken series of ordinations to the Elders-Bishops, that is, to the Presbyters who existed before the rise of the monarchical Episcopate.

That all Sacerdotalists, Greek, Roman, Anglican and Presbyterian, are wrong in their whole conception of a delegated representative Priesthood, is manifest from the fact that their primary assumption respecting the Kingship and Priesthood of Christ will not stand in the light of His own teaching. There is no truth in the whole realm of

Gospel truths that can be more confidently affirmed than that, as an essential part of His teaching, Jesus proclaimed the right of every sinful man and woman to go direct to God for pardon, peace and salvation.

How evidently this is the case will appear from the Lord's Prayer. On the Sacerdotal hypothesis the prayer should have been so framed that it would have been offered in the Name and for the sake of Jesus, so that His mediating Priesthood would have been recognized; but it was not constructed on that principle. This prayer, which might properly be regarded as the summary of the teaching which Jesus gave to His disciples, most evidently proceeds upon the assumption that man's redemption and salvation are dependent upon his own will and power to draw near to God, so that in securing reconciliation with God, every man is his own priest. The same Gospel of pure, Republican individualism is taught also by the Lord in the greatest of His parables, the Prodigal Son, and in His Sermon on the Mount.

Since Sacerdotalists do not agree as to the successors of the Apostles through whom we must go to God for Gospel salvation, and as their doctrine concerning the necessity for a mediatorial Priesthood is utterly irreconcilable with the teaching of the Lord, we cannot accept their representations concerning the devolutionary origin and authority of the Christian ministry.

And let me in the name of common sense ask, why should we fly in the face of modern intelligence and account for the Christian ministry on a theory which takes

it out of the realm of the normal and diminishes rather than increases its chances for being held in high estimation as a Divine and indispensable institution?

Educated men, almost without exception, consider that the doctrine of evolution is established and that it correctly accounts for the existence of the whole of creation in both the spiritual and physical realms. "Under the laws of evolution," says an interesting writer of a book entitled, *The Scientific Achievements of the Nineteenth Century*, "have been brought the stellar universe and solar and planetary systems, no less than the species of plant and animal creation." He might have gone on, with equal truthfulness, to say that the existence of the Family, the State and the Church are likewise held by practically all scientists and philosophers to be due to evolutionary processes.

To account for the Christian Episcopate upon the rational theory of evolution is not, as Sacerdotalists represent, to degrade it as a human rather than Divine institution. No one could sing Cowper's majestic hymn on the witness of "The spangled Heavens to their great Original," with more heart than an intelligent evolutionist who believes that the universe as we know it, is a Providential working out of eternal laws.

Nor can any one take a higher view of Episcopacy than that which enables him to say that it is for organic Christianity a Providential embodiment of the underlying indispensable principles of unity and superintendence under one headship, some embodiment of which is necessary to

the existence of every form of social organism which contributes anything towards the existence and development of civilization.

If we are to have a common Inter-Church Episcopate, each Denomination must create its own Episcopate, and it must be given an Inter-Church character by union on an equal footing with all other Episcopates in a National Inter-Church Council. Nor is this all. The fact must be recognized that there are different kinds of Episcopates.

There is the primitive, Ignatian Episcopate which the Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist and many other Churches have. In fact every Pastor settled over a congregation of Christians is a representative of this Episcopate. Before the time of Cyprian, the middle of the third century, there was no other Episcopate in any Church.

There is the diocesan Episcopate of the Anglican Churches. Among these Churches the Protestant Episcopal Church stands somewhat alone, because it is without the archiepiscopal system in addition to the diocesan.

There is the more complicated diocesan, and patriarchal Episcopate, with intermediate Episcopal grades, such as the Greek Churches possess.

There is the oligarchal Episcopal system with the Presiding Elder Bishops of the Methodist Church.

There is the monarchical Papal Episcopal system of the Roman Church with its simple diocesan and complicated archiepiscopal systems.

All these Episcopal systems and many others besides, such as the Moravian, Lutheran and Swedish are in existence. All Churches which make provision for a settled Pastorate, and for domestic and foreign missionary Secretaryships have Episcopates of some kind. The Level Plan for Church Union recognizes this to be the case and provides, or may provide, for the representation of every Church in the proposed national incorporated council of Bishops.

The attainment of an uniform Episcopate must be a development brought about through the national Episcopal council, even as the attainment of an uniform national Church must be a development through that council. All that can be hoped for in the way of uniformity at the beginning is, that the Churches represented in the council will have their candidates for the Ministry ordained by a representative committee of the council so that, after the first generation, the confederated Churches will have a Common Ministry, so far as it may be had by ordination.

Such a Ministry could be created in this way without the sacrifice of any principle, and it would mark a long step towards the unification of Christendom. If a Church should, on principle, or even strong preference, refuse to create a Denominational Episcopate to which the right to ordain candidates to the Ministry is restricted, and yet should desire to be represented in the national council, it might be allowed to come in with the understanding that its candidates for the Ministry will be ordained by a com-

mittee of its Congregational Bishops the members of which have been ordained by the ordaining committee of the central council or embryonic National Church.

VI.

There can, I think, be no doubt that there never would have been such an institution as the Catholic Church, which flourished from the middle of the second to the middle of the sixteenth century, except for the Provincial councils of Congregational Bishops, the first of which appears to have been organized by Cyprian, in which the Bishops whom the Congregational Churches had respectively elected, and ordained for themselves, were equally represented, without reordination, or even the exchange of the right hand of fellowship. And such an institution as a national, Catholic Church, cannot, I think, be brought into existence under present conditions, without national councils of Denominational Bishops, in which the Episcopates, of whatever kind, of all the Denominations, whether ancient or modern, congregational, diocesan or papal, monarchical or oligarchal, will be represented on the same level.

It is an open secret that the negotiations looking towards the coming together of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, in which at one time so much of hope was centered by both sides, were broken off by the committee of the Presbyterian Church, because the committee of our Church would not proceed with them upon the assumption of the essential equality of the two Ministries.

This happened about twenty years ago. Since then the study of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry in the light of historical criticism has advanced apace. The position that had been taken by Bishop Lightfoot and Professors Hatch and Harnack, as to the non-Sacerdotal, non-Episcopal, and even non-official, character of the New Testament Ministry has been so completely fortified by Professors Ramsay, Wernle, Lindsay, McGiffert, Allen, Gwatkin, Moeller, Sabatier, Briggs, and others too numerous for mention, that it probably would now be impossible to get a representative committee of the Protestant Episcopal Church that would have the assurance to approach one of our sister or daughter Protestant Churches except on the level.

One reason why any attempt to secure a common Inter-Church Ministry on the basis of Sacerdotalism, or Priestism must fail in this country, is found in the fact that such a system of government is contrary to the spirit and genius of the American government and institutions. The verdict of history is that in every nation the form of Church government is largely influenced and determined by the form of the national government.

Now Priestism in the government of a Church is what Imperialism is in the government of a State. And as in the government of states, Imperialism is everywhere being supplanted by Republicanism it follows, as if by some resistless law regulating the relationship of civil and religious governments, that Priestism must give way and there-

fore cannot afford a basis for the requisite Common, Inter-Church, unifying Ministry.

That which is necessary in the Episcopate is unity and superintendence under one headship. These principles may be embodied quite as efficiently in a modern headship of a Republican as in an ancient headship of an Imperial character. The essential, basic feature of the Level Plan for Church Union is a Common Ministry of the Episcopal type, and it really makes no difference whether the necessary Episcopate is historic or un-historic, but as both are in existence some way must be found for uniting them.

The twofold problem of the Inter-Church Episcopate Plan is how to persuade the non-Episcopal Churches to follow the example of some among the Methodist Churches, and a few others, in creating Denominational Episcopates for themselves, and how to unite the Episcopates of the ancient and modern Churches. The adoption of my suggestion as to how to make the fourth article of the Quadrilateral effective would solve this problem.

The Sacerdotal or Priestly contention, that the Episcopate is an institution which has come down through certain Churches from the Lord Jesus and His Apostles, so that other Churches can have it only from them, has become as unreal and impracticable as would be the analogous idea that, if a nation with an oligarchal form of government wants a kingship or a presidency it must obtain it from a nation having a king or president. The only way

for a nation to change the headship of its government is by a revolution or an election.

It goes without saying that Episcopacy will never be established in the Protestant, non-Episcopal Churches as the result of a revolutionary usurpation. There is then only one way in which a non-Episcopal Church can become an Episcopal Church, that is, by the election and consecration of Bishops for itself, upon its own authority. And the only way by which the ancient and modern Episcopates can be united is the level way, that leads to national and international ecclesiastical councils in which all the Churches will be represented by their Bishops on a perfectly level plane.

This would be true even if an Inter-Church Episcopate were to be created by the ordination of Denominational Bishops for the non-Episcopal Churches by the representatives of the Anglo-American Episcopate; because, in that case, our Bishops would have to rest their authority to act ultimately upon the authority of the Church for which the service was performed.

The Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral plan, of which mine is only a reasonable interpretation, in the light of ancient history, and in the light of modern conditions, must fall in line with Republicanism or else be abandoned. In this age, and especially in this country, any plan for Church union which has not Republicanism for its basis is doomed to failure.

VII.

The Inter-Church Episcopate interpretation of the Quadrilateral Plan for the national and international confederation of the Churches of Christendom, is in exact alignment with the ancient plans for bringing about ecclesiastical unity which issued in the Catholic Church, as it existed from the middle of the second century to the middle of the sixteenth century. Of these plans there were three: (1) the Ignatian; (2) the Cyprianic, and (3) the Constantinian.

But for the conception and inauguration of these plans there could have been, from the organic point of view, no Christian Catholicity; and indeed Christianity as we know it, whether in its doctrinal or institutional form, could not have been developed and perpetuated. These plans were alike in that they had Episcopacy for their basis, and in this essential feature my version of the Quadrilateral Plan is exactly the same, not in principle only but also in fact.

The unifying Episcopate, of which Ignatius was the father, was Congregational. The unifying Episcopate which I want the Protestant Churches to create is Denominational. The Level Plan or rather the Quadrilateral Plan as interpreted by me, and the Ignatian Plan are therefore the same in principle.

Nor are the plans as different in form as might be supposed at first sight; for, after all, a Denominational Church is but a large congregation. In respect to their separateness the Denominational Churches of the twentieth cen-

tury in the United States, are on essentially the same basis as were the Congregational Churches of the first and second centuries in Syria, Asia Minor and elsewhere.

The object which Ignatius had in view was the preservation of unity in the local Church. His motto may be said to have been, "One Church for each city." There were in his time two or more congregations in the larger cities, and a general tendency to form separate associations known as household Churches. These in the case of every place were to be confederated into one local Church to be known, for example, as the Church of Antioch or the Church of Corinth.

The thought of confederating the Churches of Antioch with those of Corinth did not cross the mind of Ignatius. The idea of confederating the local city Churches of each Province in the Roman Empire was the next great step in the way towards organic catholicity, and the credit of its conception belongs to Cyprian, not to Ignatius. The basic principles upon which both acted were, however, the same, that of confederation under the Congregational Episcopate.

Through a city Episcopate, Ignatius sought to bring together the household Churches or associations into city Catholic Churches. Through an Inter-urban Episcopate, Cyprian sought to create Provincial Catholic Churches. Through an Inter-denominational Episcopate the Level Plan would create national Catholic Churches, first of the Protestant Churches, then of the Protestant and Roman Churches.

The plans of Ignatius and Cyprian for the accomplishment of their respective purposes were also alike in that both provided councils for the Episcopates. It is true that the councillors which Ignatius associated with the local city Bishops were unofficial, or at least only semi-official, Presbyters; and that the councillors which Cyprian associated with these Bishops were their fellow official Bishops. But the plans were in principle identically the same, for both sought to bring together the Churches of Christendom through Bishops and councils, not through one or the other alone. Therefore in principle these plans for Church union were exactly the same, and the Level Plan is identical with them.

Note that the plan of Ignatius was concerned with the confederation of the Christian associations of places into what are known as city Churches, one Church for each city. The plan of Cyprian was concerned with a confederation of city Churches into Provincial Churches, one Church for each province. Both plans were based upon the Congregational Episcopate. The Diocesan Episcopate, which in the fourth article of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral is called the Historic Episcopate, is indeed an outgrowth of the Provincial Episcopate, but it is not related to it as closely as the Provincial Episcopate was to the Congregational Episcopate. The Provincial Episcopate was composed of Congregational Bishops associated in an unofficial conference to which all the Bishops, or as we would say, Rectors, or Pastors, were admitted. The "Historic" Episcopate was, and is in fact, a quite dif-

ferent institution from this primitive Congregational Episcopate.

Constantine reorganized Christendom by supplanting the Congregational Episcopate with a Diocesan or "Historic" Episcopate and by adding to the Provincial Councils an official General Council with legislative powers, such as the Provincial Council was slow in acquiring.

It appears then, that the phrase, the "Historic" Episcopate is simply a high sounding nomenclature for the Diocesan Episcopate. It is a modern American, sectarian, terminology which is very little used by accurate writers, because it is so apt to give mistaken impressions as to the antiquity of the institution to which it refers. As a matter of historical fact the diocesan Episcopate is not the "Historic" Episcopate in the sense of being prior to other Episcopates. In that sense the Congregational Episcopate is the "Historic" Episcopate. In the Episcopal Church the Rectors rather than Diocesans are entitled to the distinction of recognition as representatives of the "Historic," that is, the primitive Congregational Episcopate.

Ignatius created the City Church, Cyprian the Provincial Church, Constantine the National Church. Later the Pope created an International Church.

Thus as the need for them arose, there have been at least three or four reorganizations of ecclesiastical Christianity; therefore no reason can be based on principle why the Churches should not, if necessity required, be reorganized again in accordance with the Level Plan.

A reorganization of Christianity is absolutely necessary,

and the only way given under Heaven in which it can be accomplished is the exactly level way of Republicanism which will lead to a Common, Inter-Church Episcopate, the Denominational representatives of which will constitute National Councils in which the Bishops of the old Episcopates and those of the new will stand on precisely the same footing.

Up to the time of Cyprian, and in the case of some Churches for nearly a century afterwards, each Congregational Church or local Presbytery elected its own Bishop, and appointed or consecrated him without apparently any reference to any other Congregation or local Presbytery.

During all this period, after the development of the Episcopate, when the Bishop of a congregation died, the people elected his successor and its own local representatives ordained him. Note well, that the congregation did not call in the Bishops of other congregations for the ordination.

This purely congregational and entirely non-Sacerdotal arrangement continued to be the general rule until the institution of the Cyprianic Provincial Councils of Bishops. In the course of time these councils took over the right to ordain the Congregational Bishops by a committee appointed for the purpose; then, when the people of a congregation whose Bishop had died made an election, the Bishop-elect was no longer consecrated by the local Presbyters, but by neighboring Congregational Bishops.

There is, from the historical point of view, no reason

why, at the beginning of the proposed reorganization for the purpose of unification, there should not be several kinds of Episcopates, such as the Papal International Episcopate which the Roman Church has, the Monarchial Diocesan Episcopate which the Anglo-American Church has, the Oligarchal Denominational Episcopate which the Methodists have and the local Congregational Episcopate, a primitive form which is still common to all Churches. Such Episcopates would have common principles for their basis and they would not differ in form much more widely than do the Greek, Roman and Anglican Episcopates as at present existing.

Barring the comparatively mild infusion of Sacerdotalism which Cyprian introduced with his plan, the principles involved in the Level Plan are the same as those of the plans of Ignatius and Cyprian. It is doubtful whether any plan for the federation of the Congregational Churches, which was without the Sacerdotal and Imperial features of Cyprian's plan would have succeeded in the third century. That was an age of Imperialism. It is absolutely certain that no plan for the federation of the Protestant, Denominational Churches which is not purely Republican will succeed in the twentieth century. This is an age of Republicanism.

If it be asked, why the necessity of attaching so much importance to the precedents established by Ignatius and Cyprian, I reply that if their precedents could not serve the purposes of unification in the twentieth century that they did in the first and third centuries, there would be no

reason why we should not proceed without reference to them. But there is hardly any use of solving problems which have already been solved, especially if we have good reason for believing that the solutions were worked out along the basic principles of everlasting and universal application.

We have every reason for believing that we can bring our Denominational Churches together into National Catholic Churches, and into International co-operative federations of such Churches, by the same way which was taken by Ignatius in federating the several household Churches into one Catholic Church for each city; and by Cyprian in confederating the city Churches into Provincial Churches; and by Constantine, in federating the Provincial Churches into the great Catholic Church of the Roman Empire.

Of course in so far as our conditions are different we must establish new precedents. In any such necessary departure we would have the justification of Cyprian's example; for he did not slavishly follow Ignatius. Not to mention other variations, there was the important one involving the difference between Republican and Sacerdotal principles. Ignatius' plan for confederating the household Churches into city Churches was based upon Republican principles. This was because he lived so near the time of the great Republican and also because the cities, paradoxical as it may seem, were really Republican wheels within an Imperial wheel.

Ignatius would not, if he could, and could not if he

would, have established Imperial City Churches. Exactly the reverse was true of Cyprian. Not only was the government of the Roman provinces imperialistic in his time, but the pure Republicanism of the original household and city Churches had become considerably changed by the large accessions from the Sacerdotal Jewish and Heathen Churches, which overtaxed the digesting capacity of organic Gospel Christianity. Under such conditions it was impossible that Cyprian, the great organizer, should provide for the larger unity, which the exigencies of his time demanded, by a purely Republican plan, such as that which had been formulated and carried out under the leadership of Ignatius a century before.

The more the subject is studied the more clearly it will appear that all plans for the unification of the Churches must follow the lines of the government of the country and the governmental drift of the age for which they are intended.

The Sacerdotal conception of organic religion is fundamentally wrong. It presupposes the freedom of religion to organize and govern itself without any reference to the State. But Churches live and move and have their being in States. As all the leading States are Republican, and as Churches and States must have essentially the same government, it follows that whatever else the Church of the Future may be, it will be Republican in character. Therefore, no program for Church union which does not proceed by the level way of pure Republicanism can ever be carried out.

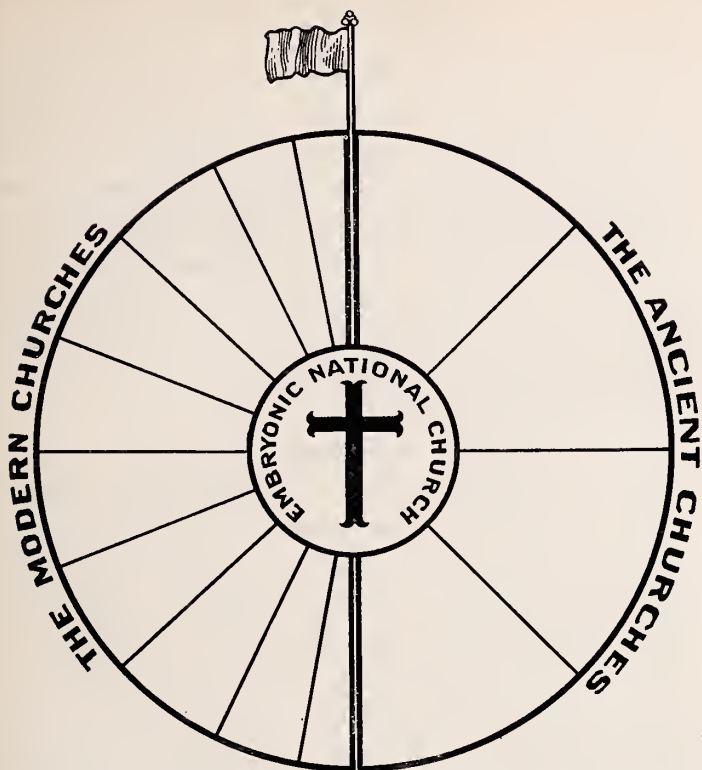


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION.

The outer circle, over which the flag floats, represents the limits of the American Republic, the natural stage for every world-wide Republican movement, such as is contemplated in the Level Plan for the unification of Christendom. The inner circle, in which the chief emblem of Christianity stands, represents a proposed incorporated Inter-Church council of Denominational Bishops which may be known, in this country, as the United Church of the United States. The spaces into which the large circle is unevenly divided represent our many orthodox, national, Denominational Churches, great and small, ancient and modern, Protestant and Sacerdotal. In the course of time all these Churches are to be represented in the small circle on an entirely equal footing by a delegation of Bishops. This Inter-Denominational council will be unofficial in character. It will, however, arrange for the ordination of all the candidates for the Ministries of the Churches which it represents, by a committee which shall be equally representative of the three types of Christian Churches, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational. This Plan is purely Republican and entirely on the level. The carrying out of it would, within a single generation, give to the national, Denominational Churches represented in the council, the Common Ministry upon which the unification of Christendom and the evangelization of the world are dependent. Yet the adoption of the plan would involve no sacrifice of principle on the part of any Church or party or individual.

VIII.

I have thought of another method of carrying out the Level Plan for Church Union which would involve even less of officialism and more of Republicanism to begin with than the one which I am recommending in this book, as being in my judgment, upon the whole, the best method which I am at this time capable of formulating. Speaking especially of the United States, in briefest outline, the alternative plan is this:

1. Let the ministerial associations of each city and town of the country form a Church confederation organization and elect one of their number a chairman, superintendent or Bishop for the work of the organization. Provision should be made for the holding of this Episcopal office by the same person as permanently as possible.

This organization would be closely analogous to that proposed by the Apostolic father, St. Ignatius, for securing the unity of the city Churches. The Ministers of the several Churches represented in this urban organization would, in their unofficial, corporate capacity, correspond, so far as the principle involved is concerned, almost exactly to the college of Elders which existed in the places where Christianity had been planted in the time of Ignatius; and the chairmen, presidents or Bishops elected by them would, so far as the work of the confederation is concerned, correspond to that of the Ignatian Bishops.

2. Let these urban Bishops meet, say, once a year in unofficial, state councils for the purpose of talking over

the great business of Christians, the extension and development of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus, so far as it can be furthered by confederated efforts. These state councils would elect permanent chairmen, presidents or Bishops. This organization in its work and aims would find a very close analogy in the provincial councils of the urban Bishops organized by Cyprian.

3. Let these state Bishops with chosen representatives, say four, of the city and town Bishops meet triennially in a great national council; and let the first work of this council be the making of provision for securing to all the Churches a Common Inter-Church Ministry.

To this end let the council form a great Ordaining Committee consisting of the Bishop of each State. In order that, to the satisfaction of both Sacerdotalists and Republicans, the representatives of this committee may be qualified for their work of ordaining, let them, as a concession to the weaker brethren, be ordained by a chosen committee representing every Church connected with the federation. The Roman, Greek and Anglican Churches should be duly invited to send a representative to act upon this committee.

4. Finally, let it be arranged as far as possible, through the efforts of national and state conventions, to have these reordained, state chairmen, presidents or Bishops, all should be free to call them what they please, take part in every future ordination to the Ministry of each Church in their respective States.

This plan, like the one to which I have given preference,

would, also within a generation, secure to all the Churches connected with the movement looking towards organic confederation, the Common Ministry upon which is dependent the unification of Christendom into national Catholic Churches and an international communion of such Churches.

The national councils, provided for in the alternative plan, would have their historical analogy in the ecumenical councils of the Roman Empire organized by the Emperor Constantine. The state chairmanships, superintendencies or Bishoprics would correspond to the diocesan Episcopate which also owed its existence to Providential developments under the influence of Constantine.

Perhaps this alternative plan would have this advantage over the one which I especially recommend to the consideration of the Churches, that it would stand a better chance of securing adoption by the national *Inter-Church conference on Federation* already in existence.

IX.

I must not fail to make it clear that the Level Plan for Church Union does not necessarily stand or fall with either of these methods for carrying it out. On the contrary, the plan is not inseparably bound up with any method for its inauguration and operation. It stands or falls with the principle upon which it is based, not with any method for rendering it efficient. In fact, the method may vary in different countries and ages, but the plan remains the same for all nations and generations.

I reiterate, the Level Plan for Church Union stands or falls with the principle involved, and as it rests squarely on the principle of equality or of Republicanism, which is one of the most distinctive or fundamental principles of the Gospel, it will stand unshaken against the attacks of the promoters of any plan for the unification of Christendom which is based upon Sacerdotalism.

If, then, at any time, I have so far forgotten myself as to write as if I thought that the Level Plan for Church Union, as worked out in this book, constitutes the only way by which the bringing of the Churches together may be accomplished, I wish to be understood as having reference to the principle of ecclesiastical equality which is the basic assumption of the plan, rather than to the method of embodying that principle which I am advocating. I am fully conscious that, so far as methods are concerned, the fact of Providential development must be reckoned with in every such vast undertaking as the confederation of the Churches.

Neither I nor anybody else can draw in accurate detail the ultimate form of the ecclesiastical ship that is to carry the precious cargo of Gospel salvation to all the world. No finite hand can do this, any more than the hand of Robert Fulton could have drawn in detail a modern transatlantic liner while sitting in the cabin of the little steamboat by which he first navigated the Hudson River.

But as Fulton could have affirmed with confidence that any and every steam craft for water navigation, whether great or small, in all ages to come, must embody the prin-

ciples which were first materialized in the Claremont, so I humbly claim that no plan for bringing the Churches together will ever be materialized which is not an embodiment of the principle of entire equality involved in the Level Plan for Church Union.

Therefore, even though it may be shown that my method of carrying out the plan is utterly impracticable, it will not at all follow as a necessary conclusion, that the plan itself is at bottom wrong and worthless.

Objectors to the Level Plan for Church Union should, in case they reject the principle upon which it is based, show its unsoundness in an argument which I cannot answer. In all humility and friendliness I respectfully challenge such a showing; and while I know that the time for boasting is when the armour is being taken off rather than when it is being put on, yet I venture to say that such an argument will never be forthcoming. If objectors to this plan accept the principle, but reject the method for giving it practical, efficient embodiment, it becomes their privilege to discover and point out some better way.

The Level Plan for Church Union will stand forever, because it is based upon the eternal Gospel principle of Republican equality. The method of carrying out the plan should command respectful attention, until a more practicable one has been formulated.

X.

The Churches are being kept apart by their Ministers. If only the shepherds would get together the sheep who

know their voices would follow into one fold without the least hesitancy or delay.

The great obstacle in the way of the Ministers coming together is the claim of some among them that they alone possess a regular ministerial commission. But the truth respecting this whole vexed question of ministerial regularity is that, in our day, there is no Catholic, regular Ministry. We have nothing but sectarian ministerial regularity. Therefore the Ministry of one orthodox Church, must be regarded as being as regular as that of any Church, ancient or modern; and hence, also every Ministry in its own Church must be acknowledged to be more regular than any other would be in that Church. The Level Plan for Church Union would in the course of one generation give to Christendom a Catholic ministerial regularity.

Under present conditions the official acts of any sectarian Minister, in administering Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are regular only in so far as they are confined to the membership of the sect of which he is officially a ministerial representative. If, to take an extreme example, Pope Pius X were to come to Little Rock, and administer the Holy Communion to the congregation of the Winfield Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church, it would not, so far as the membership of that parochial branch of the Methodist sect is concerned, be a regular or valid administration of the Sacrament, but so far as the Church Universal is concerned, it would be as valid and as regular as any Eucharist that he has administered in St. Peter's Church at Rome.

This would be quite as true of a celebration of the Mass by the Pastor of the Winfield Memorial Methodist Episcopal Church in St. Peter's, Rome. So far as the membership of that parochial branch of the Roman sect is concerned, it would not be a regular or a valid administration of the Sacrament, but so far as the real Catholic Church is concerned, the Church which is constituted of all those who accept the Lord Jesus Christ as the God-Man Saviour of the world, it would be as regular and valid as any Eucharist that he has administered in the Winfield Memorial Church at Little Rock, or as regular and valid as any Eucharist that any human being has ever administered anywhere.

In speaking of validity in this connection, I have reference only to the effect of the Holy Communion in securing and preserving outward organic unity among the followers of Christ. So far as the spiritual benefits are concerned the validity of a Sacrament is not to any degree dependent upon the ordination of the person who celebrates it, but upon the prayers of the members of the congregation of believers. The prayers of the celebrant who stands at the Altar or Holy Table, whether Roman Priest or Methodist Minister, may contribute no more to this validity than is contributed by the prayer of the Sexton who humbly kneels at the door.

It was, I believe, Athanasius, the illustrious Saint, defender of the faith and Bishop, who in childhood was baptized by a little playfellow and never rebaptized, because the Doctors of his day held the act to be valid.

But in those days, the early part of the fourth century, the invisible Church of Christ, which has always been, is now, and ever shall be one, and the visible Church of Christ which always has been and probably always will be to some extent divided, coincided much more nearly than they do now.

One of my critics of the Sacerdotal way of thinking says: "My view of the lay Priesthood is that it is like the government of the United States. President Taft is nothing more than a representative officer for the whole people, and his acts are the people's acts; but how silly would an individual citizen be if he attempted to act on the idea that he was a lay president. Nor do I accept the theory, that because the custom of the Church has negatively acquiesced in admitting the validity of lay Baptism, therefore a layman has the same right and authority to celebrate the Holy Eucharist."

Ever since reading the clear cut statements just quoted, I have been wondering whether the learned and influential writer of them, a Bishop, would not admit that, if we were to have a revolution in the United States which would place some "silly individual citizen" usurper in the Presidential chair and enable him to hold it for say four years, his official acts would be valid?

Were not the official acts of Jefferson Davis while President of the Confederacy valid, and would not his official acts have been valid on a wider scale if the issue of the Civil War had enabled him to supplant Abraham Lincoln in the Presidency of the United States? Were not

the official acts of Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon Bonaparte valid? Or, to put the same question in another form, was Cromwell or Bonaparte in the period of his triumph, a "silly individual citizen" whose official acts were without validity, null and void? Now if the acts of this Dictator and Emperor, and if the acts of the President of the Confederacy were valid, why are not the acts of the alleged usurping ecclesiastical officers valid?

The celebration of the Holy Communion was, in the primitive Church, regularly reserved for the President, Bishop-Presbyter, because he was the center of the Church's unity. Ordinary Presbyters were, at times, allowed to celebrate that Sacrament, not, however, on account of any inherent right to do so connected with their Priesthood. Bishop Lightfoot has shown and even Dr. Moberly is forced to admit that the early Church, the Church of the first and second centuries, apparently had no conception of a Christian priesthood, official or otherwise, the chief function of which was to celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

According to the testimony of Tertullian, who flourished at the beginning of the third century, even as late as his day the privilege of presiding or officiating at a celebration of the Holy Communion was sometimes accorded to a layman. This privilege seems at first to have been regarded very much like that of presiding at the celebration of the Passover, being one which might be enjoyed by the head of the family or by otherwise the most honorable person present. Hampered as we are by our preposses-

sions in favor of later and more seemly customs, it is difficult for us to realize what a comparatively simple ceremonial the celebration of the Lord's Supper was in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. In those formative periods, it partook much more of the character of a social meal, which we might imagine as following a Methodist prayer-meeting, than it did the formal and stately service with which we are happily so familiar.

Bishop Hall in his notable pamphlet, "The Apostolic Ministry," page 40, seems to admit that Baptism must be regarded as a greater Sacrament than the Eucharist, and on the Sacerdotal theory it certainly is. For the one gives life while the other only sustains it. Now, if a layman may baptize validly in extreme sickness, why may he not also as validly administer the Eucharist in such cases?

When the only doctrine of the Church, and of the Ministry, and of the Sacraments that can endure the light of modern scholarship is followed down to its logical conclusion, it will appear that every Christian family might constitute a Church of which the father, by reason of his participation in the lay Priesthood, and by reason of his being the head of a family, would be the High Priest. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, with thousands of others, were, so to speak, family Priests. This Priesthood still might, and potentially does, exist. We have a linguistic memorial of it in the word "Elder" or "Presbyter," and in the title "Pope" or "Papa."

A distinguished critic, who is not nearly as much of a Sacerdotalist as his language would naturally imply, writes

me that he would consider that he was committing a sacrilegious act in receiving the Holy Communion at the hands of one who had not received Episcopal ordination by a Bishop of the Apostolic Succession. With my view of the Church and Ministry, I am relieved from the embarrassing necessity of feeling and saying such a really outrageous thing. For I can easily imagine circumstances under which I could receive the Holy Communion at the hands of a Presbyterian Elder with much benefit, and certainly without feeling that I was doing wrong; but I would not consider, nor would I have any one regard my act as identifying myself with the Presbyterian Church. I would think of my communion as with the Church universal; or as it is spoken of in the Creed, "the Communion of Saints."

The Incarnation of God in the Person of the God-Man, Jesus Christ, is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and therefore the Gospel in its last analysis is (1) the revelation of the communication of a new infusion of Divine life of which every member of the human race is a partaker and (2) the revelation of the potentialities of that life in the case of every soul who wills to make the most of it.

The Divine potentialities which are inherent in the case of every human soul are compared in our sacred Scriptures not to a little keg of wine jealously presided over by a Sacerdotal and intermediary Priesthood, established by the Lord to take His place, but to a great and exhaustless spring sending out through the whole world a stream of

life sustaining water, cool and sparkling, to which all may go directly and help themselves without necessary reference to any mortal man whomsoever. "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, Come. And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely."

The Lord Jesus stood for Republicanism. His opponents, who put Him to death, stood for Imperialism. The concensus of conviction is that He was right and that the High Priest, Scribes, Pharisees and Sadducees were wrong.

Beneath all variations in forms of social organization, whether domestic, civil, ecclesiastical or commercial, there is the inherent principle, not, as the Sacerdotalists would have us think, of Imperial coercion, but of Republican unofficial leadership, without which no government of a constructive character could survive. The great keynote of evolution, "the survival of the fittest," operates unerringly in all forms of government. Only such Republican governments, or leaderships, survive as are of maximum service to the common welfare of humanity.

From the showing that has now been made, in this and other connections, it appears that I have a scientific as well as a moral right, to make an appeal to my Church for the adoption of a purely Republican Ministry as the basis of efforts looking towards the unification of Christendom. I point to the God-Man, to His Gospel, to the revelation

of the sciences, to the Divinely constituted order of every department of the social realm, and to the Providential facts of current history in support of this appeal.

The problem involved in bringing the Churches together is after all the ancient problem of how to unite the new and the old, in periods of transition from a lower to a higher level of civilization. And it would be well for Sacerdotalists to remember, that in all such unions the new has dictated the terms to the old, not the old to the new. In the proposed marriage of the Churches, let those of us who represent the ancient Churches bear in mind the fact that the modern Churches are the bride which must be won, not by blunt dictation, but by tactful wooing.

III.

THE CHIEF OBJECTIONS.

I.

THE OBJECTION has been made to the Level Plan for Church Union that it has primary reference to union with the modern rather than with the ancient Churches.

But the same objection could be raised against the Quadrilateral for it is an overture to the Protestant Churches. Evidently it must have appeared to the minds

of the promoters of the Quadrilateral movement that the modern non-Episcopal Churches, rather than the ancient Episcopal Churches could be looked to with greater hopefulness at the beginning of any endeavor to secure ecclesiastical union, for otherwise the appeal would have been made to either the Roman or Greek Church. The Level Plan does not exclude our ancient sister Churches, but we begin where there seems to be the greater promise of success, hoping that the end will be the organic unity of Christians into national and racial Churches and into the unity of international interracial communion of such Churches. The only exclusion possible will be self-exclusion.

Under present conditions the federation of the Anglican national Churches with the Roman international Church is an impossibility. Even if it were not, the casting in of our lot with that Church would be to no such great purpose as identification with our sister Reformation Churches, and with our own Denominational children and grandchildren. If communion could be consummated between these Churches and those of the Anglican Communion the advantage to civilization would be inestimable.

The great Roman Church may be likened to a gigantic iceberg, majestic, compact, unyielding. But it is drifting. And its drift is southward into milder waters and warmer airs. The Roman Church does not yield until it is compelled to do so. American institutions, Republican government and common schools have changed and are changing her. Modernism will not down. The Roman

Church is a different institution in this country to-day from what she is in many parts of Europe. But she is changing there and everywhere. How long could this ecclesiastical iceberg survive if exposed to the constant and increasing heat radiated by an united and aggressive Protestantism?

Our union with the Greek or Roman Church before its republicanization would set civilization backward rather than forward.

If it seemed to me that there were the least prospect of the triumph of the unreformed Greek or Roman Churches, my faith in the future of Christianity would collapse, and I would sink down into a pessimistic scepticism which would not permit me to see a ray of light for the future of civilization. But, thank God, the signs of the times, as I see and interpret them, enable me to believe that Romanism will be republicanized. I can, however, see no hope of such a happy event, until Protestantism has been unified.

Therefore, any step which our Anglo-American Church may take in an effort to make progress towards the goal of unity, either Romeward, or Greekward, before she has gone as far as possible Protestantward, is in the wrong direction. It is not only that the coming together of the Mother Church of England with her sister Churches of Europe, and her daughter and grand-daughter Churches at home and throughout the English-speaking world, would result in infinitely more good than would union with the Roman and Greek Churches; but it is as evidently true

that, only in this way, can there be any hope of arriving at unity with the latter Churches.

Paradoxical then, as the statement may seem, the so-called "Catholic" Churches, Roman, Greek, and Anglican, will never come together until the Greek and Roman Churches have been protestantized or republicanized, that is, modernized.

The English-speaking Protestant Churches for the most part came out of the Anglican Churches. Naturally therefore, the first step towards union is to remedy the disruptions for which we are partly, perhaps largely, or even chiefly, responsible.

Again, the social relations of Anglican Protestants, throughout the world are with Denominational Protestants, rather than with Romanists. Our people visit their Churches and their people visit our Churches. Anglicans feel much nearer to Protestants than to Romanists. If an Episcopalian settles in a place where there is no Episcopal Church, but where there are both a Protestant and a Roman Church he will, except in very rare cases, identify himself with the Protestant and not with the Roman Church.

Investigation has shown that, in this country, ten Protestants come into the Episcopal Church for every Romanist. Whatever our "Catholics" may think about this, it is simply a matter of fact that Anglicans generally regard themselves as Protestants, and they have the best of historical warrant for so doing. So far as this country is concerned, our official name, "The Protestant Episcopal

Church in the United States of America " justifies this opinion. If the question, "in which direction shall we seek for union, with Romanism, or with Protestantism?" were submitted to a vote of our people, the overwhelming suffrage would be for Protestantism.

Yes, my Anglican " Catholic " brother, whether you like it or not, you are in a Church which is unquestionably Protestant in principle, doctrine, custom and sentiment. Moreover, the future of Christianity is with Protestantism; and, this being the case, it would be nothing less than disastrous to all the many and great interests concerned, if your program which provides for an alliance with the Roman and Greek rather than with the Protestant Churches could be carried out.

It is a constant and increasing occasion of wonderment to me, that Anglican " Catholics, " do not see the utter impossibility of the Roman program for Church unity. The United States and the twentieth century would afford a strange stage and time for the production of such a scene. In order to find a suitable environment for the carrying out of this program in any part of Protestant Christendom, it would be necessary to go to some European country and even there to turn back the hand that marks the progress on the dial of civilization at least four hundred years.

The Church which accomplished the conversion of the Roman Empire was successful in its mighty and momentous endeavor, very largely, if not indeed chiefly, because it occupied an antagonistic position in relation to Sacerdo-

talism and Imperialism which was essentially the same as that which Protestantism has been occupying since the Reformation. The history of Christianity justifies, indeed, it necessitates, the conclusion that zeal and success in missionary undertakings are inseparably bound up with Protestantism, and that the abnormal phase of Christianity which has been erroneously stamped "Catholic," when left without the Protestant example is soon sapped of expanding life by formalism and corruption.

It is difficult for one who has not gone into the subject quite fully, to realize how intensely Protestant Christianity was from its beginning down to the development of Sacerdotalism in doctrine, and of Imperialism in government. Monasticism was a mighty and persistent protest of this character and it was the missionary force from the rise of Sacerdotal and Imperial ecclesiasticism, until its corruption and absorption by Sacerdotalism.

Then came the Reformation period and with it the rise of the Protestant Churches and the great missionary movement which they have set on foot and sustained; a movement which in our own day is gathering to itself an enthusiasm and a power which give promise of almost limitless results in both the extension and development of the Christian civilization.

That Protestantism must take the leadership in efforts looking towards the unification of Christendom seems as I read the signs of the times, next to a self-evident proposition. To me it seems equally certain that the first step in the way to unity is to be by the creation of a com-

mon Protestant Ministry; and that the Level Plan for Church Union suggests a practicable, if not the only way, by which such a Ministry may be secured.

II.

A Protestant Episcopalian "Catholic" friend objects: "your plan for Church union makes no distinction between the Catholic and Protestant bodies of Christians or between the Episcopal and non-Episcopal Ministries."

I reply, if in my Plan for Church Union any such distinction had been made I could not consistently have denominated it the Level Plan. But any plan for the unification of Christendom which cannot be given this title, or its equivalent, would under present conditions be worthless. The Churches will never come together on any except level ground. This fact is the known quantity in the great and difficult problem of Church union.

My "Catholic" critic would have been better pleased if I had made the distinction, which has grown so common among Anglicans, and which is so objectionable to other Protestants, of calling the ancient organizations, Churches, and the modern organizations, Sects; and, if I had spoken of the Episcopal Church as "The American Catholic Church."

The truth of the matter is, that, so far as the United States is concerned, we have no national Church, no organization of Christians that can properly be called, in

an exclusive or inclusive sense, "the" Church; and this is true of all Christian countries. All our Christian bodies are in reality sects. Moreover no one of them, to use a common but expressive phrase, stands "a ghost of a chance" of ever becoming, on present lines, "the" Church of this country, "The American Catholic Church."

The Church of the United States is a thing of the future. It must be developed by a gradual reorganization under the headship of a Common, Inter-Denominational Ministry. I am unable to get rid of the opinion that our future, national Church will have more features in common with the Protestant Episcopal Church than with any other Church, but I am no longer so deluded as to entertain the hope that our Church is destined to absorb the other Churches and so give us the United Church of the United States. And I am now glad of that for which I was at one time sorry, that the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the promulgation of the Quadrilateral overture to her sister and daughter Protestant Churches, has officially repudiated such a hope.

Romanists resent references to their Church as a sect, or even as the "Roman" Church. They constantly distinguish their Church from other bodies of Christians by the distinctive title "Catholic." They do all they can in every way, to pre-empt the use of this title to themselves. Greek and Anglican Christians alike, dispute with them the right to the exclusive use of the term. In countries where these, respectively, have the historical precedence in canonical jurisdiction and racial preponderance in num-

bers, Greeks or Anglicans, claim to be "the" Church having exclusive right to allegiance.

Greeks, Romans and Anglicans speak of one another as sects. Their separate existence, rivalries and lack of intercommunion, would make Christendom sadly sectarian, even if the modern Protestant Churches were not in existence.

I, myself, believe that, as a rule, in every country, one Christian sect is possessed of superior claims to the allegiance of the representatives of the race of which it is historically the Mother Church.

I maintain that, under present sectarian conditions, the Protestant Episcopal Church is that sect in this country. But I have long since abandoned the idea that the Anglo-American Church is the Church for Americans in the sense of being the only true Church among all our national Churches, having as her exclusive possession a title to recognition as "The American Catholic Church."

It is true that in the Preface to the Ordination Services in our Book of Common Prayer there is the explicit declaration, "No man shall be taken or accounted to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in this Church or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted thereto, according to the form hereafter following or hath had Episcopal consecration or ordination." But as the venerable and learned Bishop of Albany is reported to have said at the ordination of the Bishop Coadjutor of the Diocese of Virginia:

"We do not presume to define the methods, or the au-

thority of sending, in other Churches; or to refuse to count as lawful Ministries, in other religious bodies, those who have not been Episcopally ordained."

It is time for those of our critic's way of thinking to recognize the fact that the invidious distinction between the Anglican and other Protestant Ministries upon which this criticism of The Level Plan for Church Union is based, and by which the proposition to change the name, "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," to "The American Catholic Church" is justified, will not stand in the light of historical criticism, or in the face of Gospel and modern Republicanism. The making of such a distinction is at once unscientific, un-American, un-Anglican and un-Christian. All Churches and Ministries are alike sectarian and therefore the Ministries now established, in the several Churches, are, in each case, the regular Ministries for those Churches respectively.

III.

Another Sacerdotal critic asks: "If the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, in the Catholic, tactual sense of the phrase, is abandoned, how can the continuity of the Church be maintained?"

Historical continuity, whether in Church or State, does not really depend upon an uninterrupted succession of any particular type of ministerial officers, or for that matter, upon any such officers.

The Patriarchs had no successors; yet the people of Israel have had a continuous history, through more than three thousand years, from the time of Joseph and his brethren, to the present day.

There are few if any among the European peoples, which now have the same dynasty of kings that reigned five hundred years ago; yet nearly all of them have a national history covering twice or thrice, that stretch of time.

The Colonial Governors, who once flourished in that part of the North American continent, which is the scene of the government of our great Republic, have no successors. Yet the states, which originally had such governors, have had a continuous history from the time of their first permanent white settlement to the present day.

The first of the Anglo-American Bishops was consecrated in 1786, only one hundred and twenty-four years ago. But the Episcopal Church is reckoned as having had a continuous existence, in the United States, ever since the landing of the Jamestown Colony, in 1607, and, accordingly, at our last General Convention, which met in Richmond in 1907, we celebrated the tri-centennial of the founding of this Church. Such facts prove that it is the continuous life of the people, and not the uninterrupted succession of their ministerial officers which determines the question of historical continuity.

The contention, that this continuity is dependent upon the London Episcopate, the representatives of which were the Bishops of the Colonies until 1786 cannot be sustained.

The American Church was officially organized and it elected its first Bishops without any reference to that Episcopate.

Our Church is not the Church of England in the United States, any more than our people are the people of England.

Doubtless there is both a relationship, and continuity, between the Churches of the two countries, as there is between the peoples. Whatever these may be they do not partake of the character of a religious or civil organism. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States is no more a continuation of the Church of England, in the sense of historic continuity, than the government of the United States is a continuation of the English government, in that sense.

What is true of these Churches is equally true of their Bishops. The Anglican and the Anglo-American Episcopates are so widely differentiated and wholly distinct institutions that it is impossible to make them the basis of historic continuity.

The truth is that there is no Church in existence that has, by reason of its Episcopate, a connection with the Churches of which we read in the New Testament and sub-apostolic literatures. Christianity has indeed had a continuous history from the New Testament times until now; but its continuity is due to the men and women who in successive ages have accepted Jesus Christ as their Divine Lord and Saviour; not to Ministers or to Sacraments, not even to the Bible itself. When we get to the bottom of this

question of continuity which is a source of so much concern to our "Catholic" brethren, we find that it is faith in and submission to Christ. Wherever this exists in any soul there is the seed of the Church, and the guarantee of continuity, both as to the past and future.

The Inter-Church Episcopate Plan for Church Union proceeds upon the basic assumption of Republican Protestantism, which is that there is no essential difference between Christian churches or between Christian ministries.

In dealing with the status of the non-Episcopal Churches, it should be remembered that an irregular institution may exist so long, and flourish so greatly, as to entitle it to recognition as regular. The older and greater among the Churches, with Presbyterian, or Congregational Ministries, such as, for instance, the Lutheran Church of Germany, or the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, could base a very strong claim to regularity, upon the ground of long life and great usefulness. This is scarcely, if at all, less true of the Congregational, Methodist, Baptist, and others among the older and larger Protestant Churches in the United States.

Schism in the Church is what revolution is in the State. All intelligent and rational people concede the ecclesiastical Reformation or Revolution of the sixteenth century, to which the modern Protestant Churches owe their existence, to have been one of the greatest and most far reaching blessings that is recorded in any chapter of the whole immense volume that contains the unabridged history of mankind.

If the advance guard, in the upward way that leads to the higher planes and mountain peaks of Christian civilization, had unhappily supposed that the Religion and Church of Christ are inseparably connected with a regular Ministry, of which the " Historic " Episcopate is the basis. there could have been no sixteenth century Reformation except on a comparatively small scale. In that case the highly developed and wonderful twentieth century civilization, with all its glorious outlook, would have been an utter impossibility.

IV.

A frequent objection to the unification of Christendom on the basis of the Level Plan is that, at the beginning, there would be overlappings of Episcopal jurisdictions.

Upon Anglican principles this objection will not stand, for the Anglican Communion is responsible for many overlappings of Episcopal jurisdictions in all parts of the world.

This objection is based upon a long established idea that the jurisdiction of a Bishop is necessarily geographical; so that it is not permissible for two or more Dioceses to cover the same ground. As a matter of fact the theory upon which this idea is based is not fully realized in any country, and it is utterly impracticable in the United States.

In this country, Roman and Anglican Dioceses overlap everywhere, and the jurisdictions of their Bishops, notwithstanding the pretentious, and exclusive claims of their titles, are limited by souls, not by geographical boundary lines.

Take for example the state of Arkansas. It contains two conterranean, completely overlapping Dioceses, one of the Roman, the other of the Anglican Communion. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Morris is not the Bishop of the territory covered by the Roman Diocese of Little Rock. His pastoral care and authority are confined to the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church in Arkansas; and I am not the Bishop of the same territory covered by the Diocese of Arkansas, but only of the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church. I am not the Bishop of Arkansas' Romanists; and he is not the Bishop of Arkansas' Episcopalians; and neither of us is the Bishop of the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists or of any among all the Christians who belong to the many other Churches represented in Arkansas.

Bishop Morris probably claims that, whether the Christian people of Arkansas know it or not, he is the rightful Bishop of them all; and while I was a "Catholic" I sometimes made a similar claim on behalf of myself. But I have come to see that there is no practical reality in such pretentions, whether made by him or by me. They are founded upon the sands of fictitious idealism, and of sectarian vanity.

If, as "Catholics" hold, the Apostles were Bishops,

there was a great deal of overlapping of Episcopal jurisdictions in the New Testament times. Even the Roman Church boasts of having had two Apostles as its founders.

In the issue of *The Churchman* of August 14th, 1909, there are two letters from the then recently deceased father Tyrell, who was one of the leaders in the momentous propaganda of Republicanism which is going on in the Roman Communion, and which is technically known as the "Modernist Movement." One of these letters contains the following paragraph which, coming from such a source, should be interesting reading to those who object to the Level Plan for Church Union on what they suppose to be "Catholic" principles:

"The law of territorial jurisdiction was made for a united Christendom. For a divided Christendom it is an absurdity. When principles issue in midsummer madness, it is time to criticize and revise them. Are Anglicans in France to set aside the Divine respect of communion in deference to an absolute ecclesiastical law? Could it ever have been the intention of the law-giver to interfere with a higher law? The only hope of reunion is a firm disregard of that which is merely positive and disciplinary, when it interferes with what is Divine and fundamental, a determination to distinguish gnats from camels.

"What authority has an ecumenical law beyond that of registering the universal practice or convention? And when that universality is broken up and is no longer one government recognized by all, cannot each government make its own convention? The mere fact that Roman

arrogance refuses to recognize you or the Greeks or the old Catholics as part of the ecumenicity, proves that the ecumenicity to which you appeal is not a government recognized by all Christendom. It is a government in retrospect, in prospect; but it does not exist. The Greeks do not respect the territories of the Romans, nor conversely. It is mere fetish-worship to let such legality stand in the way of the very possibility of ecumenical law."

V.

It is objected by Anglican "Catholics" that the carrying out of the Level Plan for Church Union would involve the reorganization of Christianity.

Reorganization is a necessity of life. If the law of gravitation is the centripetal force which makes the organism of the universe a possibility, the law of reorganization is the centrifugal force which makes life and development possibilities. But for the law of reorganization, the world and all that therein is, would quickly turn to dust and ashes. Death is a cessation of the reorganizing process. Animal bodies are said to be so completely reorganized within the comparatively short period of seven years that at its end they do not contain one atom of the matter which they had at its beginning. There is a close analogy between the animal body and the institutions of man. St. Paul called attention to this analogy for the

purpose of illustrating the necessity and nature of the organic unity which should exist in the co-operative relationship between Christians.

In these days of the general acceptance of the evolutionary hypothesis as the explanation of all completed organisms, it need hardly be said that, if ever, in answer to our Lord's prayer and in fulfillment of His prophecy, we have a Catholic Church, it will be the result of a reorganizing development. The Level Plan for Church Union provides through an Inter-Church Ministry and National Councils for the beginning of a development which would reorganize Christendom giving to it first a united Protestant Church and ultimately, through the union of Protestantism and modernized Romanism, an united Catholic Church.

In the period intervening between the crystallization of unofficial ministerialism into official ministerialism, which crystallization was, properly speaking, the birth of the organic Christianity, which is known in history as the Catholic Church, there were several more or less complete reorganizations of the Church:

1. The Church was reorganized when the Republican congregational Episcopate gave place to the Imperial monarchical Episcopate.
2. The Church was reorganized when the parochial Episcopate gave place to the diocesan Episcopate.
3. The Church was reorganized when the diocesan became subject to the metropolitan Episcopate.
4. The Church in western Christendom was reorgan-

ized when the metropolitan Episcopate became subject to the Papacy.

5. The Church, of the West, was reorganized when the Emperor Constantine practically became the Pope by assuming the headship of the Church.

6. The Western Church was radically reorganized when the Pope practically became the Emperor of the State.

7. The Western Church was reorganized, at the Reformation, when the Pope ceased to be the Bishop of Bishops and King of Kings.

8. The Roman Church was reorganized when the doctrine of Papal Infallibility became a fundamental article of her faith and the triumph of the Society of Jesus was completed; for then that Church really gave place to the Society.

A similar showing, to a less extent, could be made in the case of the Greek and Anglican Churches. Confining ourselves to the Anglican Church, she was reorganized: (1) by the planting of the Roman mission; (2) by the merging of the Heptarchy into the English nation, and (3) by the Reformation.

In view of this showing, what objection, that will stand, can be raised against the proposition to reorganize the Christianity of the United States by bringing the Churches together, on the basis of a Common Interdenominational Ministry of the Episcopal type? No new principle would be involved in such a reorganization. The proposed Denominational Episcopate would be in principle the same

as the Congregational Episcopate, which was the first crystallization of the unofficial Ministry into the official Ministry; and the proposed incorporation of this Episcopate into an embryonic national Church, "The American Catholic Church," would involve the principle which underlies the diocesan, provincial and national ecclesiastical systems.

Dean Freemantle, in his splendid Bampton Lectures, "The World, the Subject of Redemption," confirms the representation which I am here making in the following words:

"The more we study the history of the early Christian communities, the more clearly these two things stand out; first, that their organization is adapted to their needs with entire freedom. . . . It is sufficient to note that the Episcopate, like the other offices, was due, not to any formal appointment which it would be impious to alter, but to providential necessity; and that a similar necessity has constantly changed its form. Thus necessity and the Spirit of Christ, that is of sound judgment, have throughout been guides in the organization of the Church which is not bound to any one type, but has power to adapt its institutions to the needs of mankind and its own position in the world."

The evolutionary hypothesis requires us to suppose (1) that as the Churches of the present came out of the Church of the past, so the Church of the future will come out of the Churches of the present; and (2) that the character of the Church of the future is to be conjectured from the character of the religious movements of the present. These

reasonable suppositions and many facts and signs of the times indicate that the Church of the future will preserve the Episcopate of the past and present, while it will take in the liberty of the Denominational Churches and the world-wide aim of the Roman Church.

It is indeed true that the future can never reproduce the past; but on the other hand it is equally true that the future cannot be entirely different from the past. The past reorganized constitutes the present and the present reorganized will constitute the future.

My plan for Church union is strictly scientific for it proceeds upon the evolutionary hypothesis that the Church of the future will exist as the result of the reorganization of the Church of the present.

Neither Papal nor Protestant sectarianism has under present, or will have under future conditions, any useful function to perform in the ecclesiastical department of the social organism. The law of evolution is doing its work of readjusting and developing, and when this law has finished with them, it will be found that Papalism has been republicanized and that Protestantism has been universalized, and that the functions of both have been carried over into a new, evolved, national, ecclesiastical organism which will make it possible for Christianity to live and fulfill its mission under modern conditions.

Anybody who does not shut his eyes to the light of the facts of history must see that at the present time Romanism has exhausted its tremendous resources in an effort to give to the world organic unity of the Imperial type;

and that Denominationalism has exhausted itself in an effort to give to the world spiritual unity of the Republican type.

I am fully persuaded and I cheerfully admit that both Romanism and Denominationalism, in their respective ages and fields, have served Providential purposes of the greatest importance to the furtherance of Christianity and civilization. But when can Romanism give us more of her organic unity than she did in the Dark Ages; and when can Denominationalism give us more of spiritual unity than it did in the Reformation period? The force of both Romanism and Denominationalism has manifestly abated. They have performed their destined purposes. Their work, which in both cases was no doubt, in the Providence of God, of great magnitude and importance, is done. The world now needs and in God's own good time will have, the unity which is a combination of the unities of Romanism and Denominationalism. The combining of these unities involves some reorganization of Christendom, such as is provided for in the Level Plan for Church Union.

According to a contention of the experts among scientific, historical critics, the vision of St. Paul and St. Peter, and probably even of Jesus Himself, was widened by their missionary experience, so that they were more Catholic at the end of their respective ministries than they were at the beginning.

If this contention of the critics will stand, and there is every reason to believe that it will, it proves that the very idea of a Christian church, which should be a separate and

distinct institution from the Jewish church was an evolution and that, therefore, the Sacerdotal system of doctrine concerning the Christian church, ministry and sacraments, which accounts for them and their importance upon the theory of a devolution that would prevent the reorganization which I am proposing, cannot be true.

Now, if the Christian church with her ministerial and sacramental institutions were so many developments, they were such because they were felt to be necessary by the followers of Jesus to meet certain needs as they arose. And if, for the purpose of making the most of their opportunities and of overcoming difficulties, the Christians of the first and second centuries were free to organize themselves into city, congregational associations, brotherhoods or Churches, and those of the third century were free to reorganize those city, congregational Churches into provincial Churches, and those of the fourth century were free to reorganize the provincial Churches into diocesan Churches, surely there is no reason why the Christians of the twentieth century may not reorganize their denominational Churches in order to meet the needs which constitute their problem.

The great need of the twentieth century is Church union. In the light of such facts of ecclesiastical history which have been securely established by the science of historical criticism, it appears that Christians always were, still are, and ever will be free to meet the needs of their respective generations by a reorganization of their Churches, and that, therefore, there is no reason whatsoever why we may

not proceed on the Level Plan for Church Union, or any plan that will be generally acceptable, to such a reorganization of our Churches as we feel to be necessary to the evangelization of the world.

VI.

“Your Level Plan for Church Union,” says one of my Catholic critics, “is out of line with the conclusions reached by the great Protestant thinkers and writers, of whom Dr. Newman Smythe is a popular exponent. The title of his representative book, ‘Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism,’ justifies the inference that the recognized leaders of the Protestant hosts are, at last, beginning to see that the permanent elements of Christianity have their embodiment in the Catholic or, as you would say, Sacerdotal Churches, rather than in the Protestant or Republican Churches.

“If Dr. Newman Smythe and his many followers are right, you are wrong, and there will be few to follow you. Indeed, as their comparatively conservative utterances have secured general acceptance among Protestants, and even elicited much sympathy from Catholics, candor and friendship compel me to say, that I cannot understand how you can reasonably hope that the extreme radicalism of your plan will have any serious consideration. Let me, therefore, strongly advise a careful review of the plan with the idea of making such modifications in it as are necessary

to bring it into alignment with the plans of leading Protestants who are working, as it seems to me, with more success than you, upon the problem created by sectarianism."

The title which Dr. Smythe has given to his great book is unfortunate, for, by reason of it, Sacerdotalists evidently get and try to convey the impression that he endorses their contention that Protestantism has been a failure, that the future is with Sacerdotalism and that consequently, no plan for Church union which is not based upon Sacerdotalism can be a real contribution towards the solution of the problem of how to secure the necessary organic unity to Christians. But if the title is capable of such a construction the book is not. Nor is it necessary for Sacerdotalists to be at the inconvenience of reading the book in order to see their mistake. The headings of its three great essays will be sufficient to make this perfectly manifest.

It is true that the first essay is entitled, "Passing Protestantism," and that the word "passing," when used in reference to Protestantism, is fraught with comfort to the Sacerdotal heart. But what of the other titles? "Mediating Modernism" and "Coming Catholicism?" Think of it! A Catholicism that is "Coming" on the wings of a "Mediating Modernism." It would really be impossible for the average Sacerdotalist to imagine anything more terrible than such a Catholicism.

Dr. Smythe and I agree in the conviction that, if ever we are to have a truly Catholic organic Christianity, it must be the result of a development which will issue in a new

ecclesiastical institution. According to our conception, the Church of the future will be an up-to-date organization, as different from anything of the kind that now exists, or ever has existed, as the most advanced among modern States is different from the States of Mediæval and Ancient times.

The difficulty with the older and greater Churches is that they are, as compared with the States and other institutions of civilization, antiquated. All the great States of the world have renounced Imperialism, the Divine right of Kings, and have been or are being reorganized on a Republican basis. If the Churches are to keep abreast with the States they will have to give up their Sacerdotalism, the Divine right of Priests, and reorganize on the foundation of Republicanism, the Divine right of the People.

The State has been saved by Gospel Republicanism. Or to put the same great truth in other words, the State, humanly speaking, has been or is being saved by the people. If the Church is to be saved, and it is in as great need of salvation as the State ever was, its saviour will be the principle of Republicanism. The soul of modern civilization is Republicanism and this soul has for its body the people, not kings nor priests.

In the Churches this saving principle of Republicanism is known as Protestantism or Modernism. The Sacerdotal or Priestly or Imperialistic principle has dominated in Churches for ages. Hence, the Sacerdotal principle constitutes Catholicism. Dr. Smythe sees the time, in the

no distant future, when the Republican principle will have attained the ascendancy in the Church as it has in the State, and when Catholicity will be identified with Republicanism, not with Sacerdotalism.

The mediator, or influence, or instrumentality by which this tremendous transition from Sacerdotalism to Republicanism is to be brought about, is the new Protestantism upon which the reigning Pope by a famous encyclical fastened the name, "Modernism."

This Modernism, this new Protestantism, this ecclesiastical Republicanism is by no means confined to the Roman Church. Indeed, there is much more of it in the Anglican and other great Protestant Churches than there is in the Roman and Greek "Catholic" Churches.

When Dr. Smythe speaks of a "Catholicism" that is "Coming" through a "Mediating Modernism," he means exactly what I mean in speaking of a Church union that is to be brought about on the level basis of Republicanism. According to Dr. Smythe's very true conception, Protestantism is "Passing." But quite contrary to the representation of my Sacerdotal critic, Protestantism is not "Passing" into Sacerdotalism. Protestantism is expanding into Modernism, or neo-Protestantism which gives promise of being a much larger and more permanent movement than the old Protestantism, a movement of which the goal is the new earth and the new heaven of Gospel Republicanism.

It appears, then, that Dr Smythe and I have taken our stand upon the same great, fundamental, Gospel principle, Republicanism. Consequently, our plans for Church

union, however widely they may differ as to practical details, are nevertheless essentially similar. The superficial variations in them do not prevent their being identical at bottom. It may, indeed, turn out that none of the practical details of either his nor my plan will be adopted; and yet, because of the identity of their underlying principles, they are one and the same plan, the only plan, which, in view of the whole drift of things away from Sacerdotalism towards Republicanism, offers any ground upon which to base a reasonable hope for securing to Christendom that organic unity which, in some way, must be secured, if the followers of the Lord Jesus are to let their light shine in christianized lands.

Though not nearly so catchy, a much more accurate title for the book would have been, "Passing Sacerdotalism and Coming Republicanism." No one who has read this masterpiece, which at once took first rank in the growing literature on the subject of Church union, will be able to understand how any person of average intelligence could, with due care, so much as examine its title page, and yet suppose, as my critic does, that Dr. Smythe, who is a loyal and highly honored Minister in one of the most intensely Protestant of all the Churches, is expecting the time to come when Sacerdotal "Catholicism" will have swallowed and absorbed Republican Protestantism. Dr. Smythe's eminence in the Congregational Church, which has maintained a very high standard of education for its Ministry and degree of enlightenment for its People, should protect his work from the superficial and

erroneous interpretation which my Sacerdotal critic bases upon the title, not the text, of it. For if the book does support this critic's contention, it must be regarded as a confession on the part of its distinguished author, that the mission of the Divine Republican has failed, and that hope in the future must be centered in the triumph of principles which are diametrically opposed to, and hopelessly irreconcilable with His Gospel. How far Dr. Smythe is from the making of such a confession, and from centering his hope for unity in Romanism rather than Protestantism, may be judged of quite accurately from the following words quoted from the book's third essay, entitled, "Coming Catholicism: "

"Church unity is not to be attained by following some among the Anglicans, who would find a way around the Papacy back to the conditions of faith which were left finished and fixed by the first Ecumenical Councils, prior to the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches. Such Churchmen remind one of Dante's mistaken prophets, who were doomed to walk with their heads reversed on their bodies, so that, when they would go forward, their eyes could see only what lay behind them. To be pro-Roman is not to be pro-Catholic."

THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION.

LECTURE III.

SACERDOTAL AND PROTESTANT DOCTRINES.

- I. GORE AND MOBERLY.
- II. HALL'S APOSTOLIC MINISTRY.
- III. THE HISTORICAL CRITICS.
- IV. GRACE OF SACRAMENTS.

“THERE IS NO DOUBT WHATEVER BUT THAT ALL THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES ABOUT US CONFORM TO THE OTHER THREE REQUISITES LAID DOWN IN THE QUADRILATERAL: ACCEPTANCE OF THE BIBLE, ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO GREAT CREEDS, THE USE OF THE TWO SACRAMENTS, WITH THE WORDS OF OUR LORD. THE ONE POINT ABOUT WHICH THERE IS DIVISION IS THE EPISCOPATE. NOW, IF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION IN GENERAL, AS REPRESENTED BY ITS BISHOPS, ARE HONEST AND SINCERE IN WHAT THEY HAVE SAID, IT IS THEIR BUSINESS TO SEEK TO FIND A WAY OF REMOVING THIS ONE OBSTACLE, AND IF THEY DO NOT DO SO THEY LAY THEMSELVES OPEN TO THE CHARGE OF HYPOCRISY. WHAT IS THE OBJECTION TO YOUR INTER-CHURCH EPISCOPATE PLAN? IT DOES NOT SURRENDER ANYTHING WHICH IS INHERENT IN OUR EPISCOPACY. ON THE THEORY OF ANGLICAN “CATHOLICS” IT WOULD FURNISH ALL THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES WITH THE HISTORIC EPISCOPATE OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION AND THAT ACCORDING TO THE QUADRILATERAL WHICH OUR BISHOPS HAVE SET FORTH, IS THE ONLY THING THEY LACK. THEN, WHY IN HEAVEN’S NAME SHOULD WE NOT ADOPT SOME SUCH PLAN FOR UNITY AS THE ONE YOU OUTLINE.” —*Extract from a letter by the Reverend John P. Peters, D. D., Ph. D., Sc. D.*

SACERDOTAL AND PROTESTANT DOCTRINES.

I.

GORE AND MOBERLY.

I.

THE chief cause of the principal divisions among the followers of the Lord Jesus, by which His Kingdom has been impeded, is Sacerdotalism. The great obstacle in the way of the reunion of Christendom is Sacerdotalism. The cause of the modern indifference towards Christianity and the falling away from the Churches is Sacerdotalism. What was the source from which Christianity derived this Sacerdotalism? Undoubtedly, it was carried over from Judaism and Heathenism.

By common consent the two greatest among the exponents and defenders of Sacerdotalism in this generation are, from the historical point of view, the Rt. Rev. Charles Gore, D. D., Bishop of Birmingham, and from the philo-

sophical point of view, the Rev. R. C. Moberly, D. D., sometime Professor of Pastoral Theology at the University of Oxford. A promoter of any Republican plan for the bringing of the Churches together has ground upon which to base a rational hope of success only to the extent that he levels the stately superstructure of these champions of Sacerdotalism, by removing its buttresses and digging out the foundations.

Bishop Gore's book is, "The Church and the Ministry," and Professor Moberly's is, "Ministerial Priesthood." The reader will, of course, not expect a systematic review of these modern classics of Sacerdotalism because he will realize that an attempt to meet such an expectation would carry me far aside from the purpose of this book.

The question at issue between these authors and myself must be settled in the light of the facts of history which have been established by the great expert authorities in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities.

Let me, in passing, call attention to the important fact, that in the whole course of the history of Christianity, there has not been anything like the candor which now prevails among the representatives of the great bodies of Christians who have attained general recognition as expert historical critics. In our day, such men, thank God, do not look at the facts of Church history through sectarian glasses, and with rare exceptions could not possibly be induced to do so. In their work of investigation they use the axe of science, and they hew to the line of truth, with-

out the slightest reference to Denominational markings. These experts constitute a brotherhood; and they are held closely together by the strong bond of perfect candor.

The Christian world does not realize its indebtedness to the experts who are investigating the Scriptures, institutions and doctrines of Christianity. The time will come when it will be seen that they have inaugurated a reformation of inestimable value to civilization; and when they will be ranked with the illustrious reformers who commenced and carried on the sixteenth century Reformation. Indeed, the leading Biblical and historical critics who have worked so assiduously and courageously, are successors to those reformers, as really and truly as was ever a Bishop the successor of an Apostle; and I may add that, quite contrary to the representations of Bishop Gore, they have shown that what is known as the Apostolic Succession, and what well might be called the Reformation Succession, are essentially the same in kind, a succession in service to the Church in particular, and to the world at large.

When the vexed question of ministerial succession has finally been fully threshed out and every grain of truth separated and sifted from all its straw and chaff, it will be found that each kernel of the golden heap that remains, is one of service. The Encyclical of the 1908 Lambeth, Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops is a notable document, chiefly on account of its first section, on the supreme importance of service on the part of all Christians, and especially of the representatives of the several orders of

the official Christian ministry. The moment one begins to rub his eyes of the dust with which sectarianism, especially "Sacerdotal" sectarianism, has filled the air, he finds that, after all every institution, not excepting the Christian ministry really stands or falls according as it is valuable or worthless as an instrumentality of service, in meeting some great and permanent need.

It is not therefore without great significance, that the officers of the Christian church are in popular usage referred to as Ministers; and this fact is of fundamental importance to all discussions of the Christian ministry in relation to Christian unity. Representatives of the Greek, Roman and Anglican Communions may as well realize first as last, for sooner or later it must be realized, that if they would commend any form of the Historic Episcopate to Protestant Christians, they must be able to show, not that it is, by reason of an unbroken series of tactual ordinations, a continuation of the Apostolate, but that it is, so far as organic Christianity is concerned, the best embodiment of universal, eternal and indispensable principles by which may be secured the most complete and effective co-operation of the followers of the Lord Jesus in obeying His commands, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," and, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in Heaven."

There can be no question but that the world, and indeed the Church at large, is from year to year taking less and less interest in the so-called "Catholic" doctrine of Apostolic

Succession; and this because the doctrine is without a practical, utilitarian basis. It is of no avail at all that its advocates point to its Sacerdotal aspects; for the great living, growing, throbbing world, the Christian as well as the non-Christian part of it, is done with all Priests, excepting ministering, serving, useful Priests; that is, Priests who do things that are practical; things which assist men, women and children to be more Christ-like in their personal character and more helpful in their relationship to all with whom, directly or indirectly, they come in contact.

II.

Judging from their books, Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly occupy about the same high plane as to their natural endowments and scholastic attainments; for the works are about equally meritorious as literary productions. But the Bishop and Professor, in dealing with the same subject have gone about their work in quite different ways. The Bishop has built his towering and shapely superstructure chiefly on a foundation of tradition, while the Professor has erected his equally attractive building on principally a philosophical basis. If these gifted authors had worked together, they might well have entitled the result of their co-laborers, "The Origin and Authority of the Christian Priesthood;" and they might have divided it into two parts. In that case, Part I, would have been by Bishop

Gore, and might have been headed, "The Sacerdotal Priesthood from the Traditional Point of View;" and, Part II, by Professor Moberly, "The Sacerdotal Priesthood from the Philosophical Point of View."

It is claimed by Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly, as I interpret their books, that one of the great objects of the coming of Jesus Christ was the founding of a Kingdom and that, unless it be conceded that the Apostles were clothed with authority to continue their own office, and to institute, fill and perpetuate subordinate offices, He left the world on the day of Ascension without fulfilling a very important part of His mission. This is the main thesis in all writings on behalf of Sacerdotalism, so far as they concern the Christian ministry, and the arguments which are offered in support of it are both so numerous and plausible, that we need not greatly wonder at its wide reception as a doctrine.

Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly contend that it was generally, if not indeed universally, expected, that the Messiah, the Christ whom Jesus claimed to be, was to found a Kingdom; that when at last in the fullness of time the expected Saviour had come, the great event which had been waited for so long with such hopefulness, was announced by His forerunner in the declaration, "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand;" that the Messiah Himself began His public career by the same announcement; that the character of the work to be accomplished was such as to necessitate a highly organized effort; that all the governments with which the Jews were familiar were Kingdoms,

not Republics; and therefore Christ must have founded a Kingdom, whose chief officers were to govern on the Imperial lines on which the Kingdoms of those days were governed, and to perpetuate their offices; that, as a matter of fact, in the creation of His Church, and the calling and commissioning of His twelve Apostles, He actually did establish such a Kingdom, appointing its chief officers; that the Church which He thus created has been perpetuated to our day through a continuation of the Apostolate in unbroken continuity; that the covenanted relationship on account of which God becomes a man's Father and Christ his Elder Brother is entered into by identification with His Church, it being otherwise impossible to establish this relationship, which is of the essence of Christianity; and that the grace without which an adopted child of God the Father and adopted brother of God the Son cannot live and develop the Christ life, is received only from God the Holy Ghost, chiefly through the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and the Eucharist, as administered in the Church of the Lord's own founding, and by the Ministry of His own institution.

It is true that the teachers of this Sacerdotal doctrine concerning the way in which a man may attain unto Gospel salvation, generally admit the validity of Lay Baptism; but Professor Moberly does this very grudgingly and Bishop Gore none too freely. These concessions are forced, evidently because of one of the fundamental doctrines of Sacerdotalism, which affirms that the Divine life, without which a man cannot become a participant in Gospel sal-

vation, is communicated only in Baptism. Therefore, without this concession which Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly come so near to withholding, the conclusion would be unavoidable that none of the millions of all the adherents of the Churches which are without the Apostolic Succession, are entitled to regard themselves, or to be regarded, as true Christians, or entitled to salvation.

This really monstrous doctrine of Sacerdotalism accounts for the shock that many received by the reference to the membership of the Churches which are without the "Historic" Episcopate as "so-called Christians," in the Memorial against Canon xix; and it is, no doubt in large part, the explanation of the opposition to the proposed Preamble to the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which has been so earnestly advocated by the late Rev. Dr. William Reed Huntington.

But while this concession is reluctantly made concerning Baptism, when administered by laymen, the validity of the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, by which the Christ life which is on the Sacerdotal theory given in Baptism may be preserved and developed, is not allowed. Even among the most moderate of the Sacerdotal or Priestly school, it is held that the Ministers of the Churches which are without the Apostolic Succession, commit the sin of sacrilege as often as they administer this Sacrament; and that those who receive it at their hands are partakers with them of this great sin. Be it said to their credit, however, that they charitably admit that this otherwise soul-destroying sin is happily committed in ignorance;

and, therefore, God in His mercy does not permit it to have its full fruitage of evil; and, moreover, in His overflowing mercy He even permits it to be to some degree a means of grace.

As the theses of the Bishop and Professor are practically the same, I shall not go out of my way to indicate as I proceed which author I have in mind. This course will enable me to make my necessarily brief reply to them much more comprehensive, connected and readable than it could be otherwise.

III.

In dealing with the subject of the Ministry, no doubt Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly have the cause of Church union at heart quite as much as I have; but we are trying to reach a common goal by different paths. We see with equal clearness that the Christian ministry presents altogether the greatest difficulty connected with the whole problem of the unification of Christendom, and in our doctrine concerning it we agree in at least two points of first magnitude. Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly acknowledge with me the fact that one Christian is potentially as much of a Priest as another; and I acknowledge with them the necessity of an official Ministry.

Here is Bishop Gore's acknowledgment, and it is in exact alignment with the position I have taken in these lectures. "In all departments of life we are dependent

one on another. There is a priesthood of science, ministering the mysteries of nature, exercising a very real authority and claiming, very justly, a large measure of deference. There is a priesthood of art, ministering and interpreting to men that beauty which is one of the modes of God's revelation of Himself in material forms. There is a priesthood of political influence, and that not exercised at will, but organized and made authoritative in offices of State. There is a natural priesthood of spiritual influence, belonging (whether they will it or not) to men of spiritual power. It is to this natural priesthood that God offers the support of a visible, authoritative commission in sacred things—'to feed His sheep.' "

And here is Professor Moberly's acknowledgment: "Now I have insisted that what Christ is, the Church, (that is the whole Christian People), which is Christ's mystical Body, must also be. If Christ is Prophetic, the Church is prophetic. If Christ is King the Church is royal. If Christ is Priest, the Church is priestly. And if Christ's Priesthood is, in relation to men, fundamental even to His royal and prophetic aspects, then, whatever tends to suppress or undervalue the essentially priestly character of the Mystical Body of Christ, obscures a most fundamental conception of the truth."

The admissions of these champions of the Sacerdotal hosts logically lead to the conclusion that all Christians are Ministers of the Lord Jesus, and that whatever difference there is between them, in respect to their Ministry in its relationship to the Church, is of an official not of an

essential character. It is a difference which is exactly analogous to that which exists between the President of the United States and an ordinary citizen.

Before President Taft's election and inauguration to the Presidency, he and Mr. Bryan were, at least so far as that office is concerned, on essentially the same footing. Until Mr. Taft's election, and indeed until his inauguration, whatever of difference there was between them was purely of a Providential character. But now he has the imperishable honor of being the President of the United States, and Mr. Bryan remains a private citizen.

What happened at Mr. Taft's inauguration? Did it make him something essentially different from what he was before, while Mr. Bryan still remained what he had been, so that they no longer stand on the same footing as formerly? Not at all. No such change has taken place. What then has happened? Only this, that Mr. Taft while yet remaining a citizen and as such on exactly the same level as Mr. Bryan, or any other man born in the United States, has been made a public official.

IV.

The Sacerdotal doctrine of the Christian ministry has for its basis a tradition respecting the origin of the Episcopate which was never thought of until after the rise of monarchical Bishops; there being no trace of it in the New Testament and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers.

An historical investigation covering the whole ground of this assertion would here be both tedious and confusing, and, therefore, I have concluded to confine myself to one notable Church, that of Corinth. I have less hesitancy in imposing this limitation upon myself, because it will be conceded on all hands that the developments which took place in that Church are typical of what, with slight variations due to special circumstances, occurred in all the other Churches.

The choice of this Church has been made because it is the Church of the New Testament times, the history of which is by common consent most fully covered by documentary records of unexceptionable character. The convenient, poorly lighted tunnel, of which we read so much in the controversial writings of Sacerdotalists, in their desperate efforts to carry the doctrine of Apostolic Succession back of A. D. 150, does not exist here; for the historical light of trustworthy documents shines with sufficient brightness clear through it.

At the beginning of our era, Corinth was to the Roman Empire, in respect to her commerce, very much what New York is to the United States, the great distributing point. The Church was planted there by St. Paul himself, in the prime of his life and influence, about A. D. 54, as the result of what he considered to be a direct revelation concerning his duty, and after he had the benefit of nearly twenty years of experience as a missionary.

No Sacerdotalist dates the beginning of the Christian church later than the day of Pentecost, which occurred

about the year 33, and so, as a generation is reckoned at 30 years, the Church was planted at Corinth when Christianity was nearing the end of the first generation of its existence. Now as the Corinthian Church came into being under such exceptional and favorable conditions, by the command of the Holy Ghost, and through the instrumentality of the greatest man that Christianity has ever produced, who gave at least eighteen months of his precious time to the work on the ground, and afterwards took an unusual interest in it, sending to it on various missions such men as Titus, Silas, Timothy and Luke, and writing more epistles to its converts than to any other, it may reasonably be supposed that, if in any Church exactly the right thing was done, in respect to the placing of the proper Ministry for the carrying on of the work so auspiciously begun, it would have been in the Church of Corinth.

If, then, the assumption of Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly, that our Lord founded the Episcopate, be true, we shall not look in vain for the historical proof of it in the Corinthian Church. But how extremely unfortunate for the cause of Sacerdotalism it is that, if tradition be left to one side, as it must be, for the ground is quite sufficiently covered by authentic documentary history, the Church of Corinth affords no support to this assumption.

The following unimpeachable documents cover the history of the Corinthian Church down to about the middle of the second century, A. D. 150; (1) St. Paul's own writings, the First and Second Corinthians, (2) the

Acts of the Apostles, (3) the Letter of Clement Romanus to the Corinthian Church, and (4) the testimony of the historian Hegesippus as reported by the father of ecclesiastical history, Eusebius. These authenticated documents, the dates of which, by the common consent of the experts, are fixed with sufficient accuracy, reveal the inner life of the Church of Corinth during a full century after its planting. So far as this Church is concerned, these documents constitute what ecclesiastical antiquarians technically call "the sources" of our knowledge concerning her origin, and of her development to the end of the period of which we are speaking.

Now, it is an indisputable fact, which no writer on behalf of Sacerdotalism has ever been able to successfully controvert, that these documents, all of which are within quite easy reach of English readers, render it absolutely impossible to believe that the Episcopal form of government at Corinth was a devolution from the Apostolate rather than an evolution from the People. The evidence which is full and complete shows that, in the course of the nearly one hundred years, covered by the authenticated documentary sources of information, well marked developments took place which made the form of the Christian ministry at Corinth a very different institution in the year A. D. 150 from what it was in the year 54; for it started out a loosely organized, unofficial Presbyterate and wound up a quite highly organized, official, monarchical Episcopate. But in principle it was still essentially the same Ministry, for, through all the changes

of the period it remained in every sense of the phrase, a strictly Republican institution, owing its existence, functions and authority, in short, all that it was at any time recognized to be, wholly and entirely to the people.

It is not even necessary to qualify this statement by the fact that throughout this period the Holy Ghost was supposed to be responsible for the personnel of the Christian ministry, because of the special endowments which He vouchsafed to its representatives, and on account of which they were singled out for the particular services which as Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists and Teachers they rendered; for the Church reserved the right to determine whether or not those who claimed a place in this charismatic Ministry were entitled to it. Anyone who was supposed to be especially anointed by the Holy Ghost for the performance of one or more of the ministerial functions was given his or her rightful place in the Ministry; but the recognition by the people was as necessary as the anointing by the Holy Ghost; and, what is fatal to the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession, neither the anointing nor the recognition had any reference to the Apostles, being as independent of their branch of the Ministry as it was of that of the Prophets or of the Teachers or of the Evangelists.

The sources of information which are in all respects as satisfactory as could reasonably be wished for, show most conclusively that, so far at least as the important Corinthian Church is concerned, Bishop Gore's hypothesis that the Presbyterate started out as a college of official

Bishops, owing its existence to the Apostolate, instead of to a college of unofficial Elders which in turn owed its existence to the people, had not been entertained by anybody. If such a conception existed from the beginning, it would almost inevitably have found some expression in all extended passages of New Testament and sub-apostolic documents having a direct bearing upon the subject of the Christian ministry; and it is next to inconceivable that there should be no trace of it in the epistle of St. Clement, one of the Apostolic Fathers. He was the chief representative of the Christian Brotherhood of the Church in Rome, and through him this Church proffered its good offices in the capacity of a peacemaker between opposing factions of the Corinthian Church, which had come to hate each other so bitterly that they threw Christian charity and consistency to the winds, and were guilty of quarrelsome conduct so scandalous that it gave the enemies of Christianity an opportunity for just criticism, and filled its adherents at other places with regret and sorrow.

The population of Corinth, as we have seen, was cosmopolitan in character, like that of New York City. The difficulty of the Corinthian Church may, therefore, have had its tap root in the race hatred which existed between the Jews and Gentiles. It is quite likely that the representatives of the ministerial Eldership were chiefly Jews, and that the depositions in which the trouble culminated, and which was the particular occasion of St. Clement's letter, were due to the fact that the Gentiles were now in the majority, and having determined upon a change of

ministerial administration, proceeded to accomplish their purpose by turning out the old Elders and electing a new set.

It is important to note that Clement wrote his epistle to Corinth at this crisis of the trouble, not on his own authority, but in the name of the Roman Church. Scholars seem to be generally agreed that the date of the epistle was the year 96, a full half century after the planting of the Corinthian Church, and more than a generation after St. Paul, and probably St. Peter, had visited Rome.

If at this time, about A. D. 96, in the second generation of Christianity, an Episcopate deriving its authority to rule the Church from the Apostolate, was in existence, an effort of the great Church of Rome to settle a difficulty in the equally great Church of Corinth by securing the restoration of Ministers who had been deposed by the dominant party, would furnish just the occasion for reference to it. For upon the supposition that an Episcopate existed in these Churches, the Bishop of Rome would have written in his own name to the Bishop of Corinth; or if that bishopric was vacant, he would have recommended the filling of it by someone upon whom the opposing parties could agree, under a concordat which provided that all should abide by the new Bishop's decisions.

Human nature being what it is, and the fundamental instincts by which social organizations are governed being what they are, Clement's failure to take such a course proves conclusively that in two widely separated Churches, as late as A. D. 96, sixty years after the Ascension, the

Episcopate upon which the Sacerdotalists build their whole doctrinal superstructure concerning the Ministry, Church and Sacraments, was not in existence.

It was probably about fifty years later, that is A. D. 145, when Hegesippus, the historian, of whose writings scanty but valuable fragments were preserved by Eusebius, visited Corinth on his way to Rome. At that time the Church was peacefully and prosperously governed with a monarchical Bishop of the congregational, Republican type at its head.

We have now shown that as late as A. D. 96, the Episcopate could not have been in existence at Corinth or Rome. Bishop Lightfoot in his essay on "The Christian Ministry" and his work on "The Apostolic Fathers," has made a similar showing in respect to the whole Church to the end of the sub-apostolic age. Professor Hort in his book, "The Christian Ecclesia," has specialized in the case of the Syrian, Antiochian Church, as I have here done in the case of the Corinthian Church, and with the same result. Professor McGiffert has shown that the special features of the Mother Church of Jerusalem were not perpetuated, and that the chief doctrines and institutions of Christianity, so far as they have an apostolic origin, must be traced to the Apostle St. Paul, rather than to the original twelve Apostles.

Thus it will be seen that the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession is without any basis in historic fact, and that consequently, notwithstanding all that Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly have done to buttress it, the

whole superstructure of Sacerdotalism is tottering to its inevitable fall.

The books of Bishop Gore and Professor Moberly were in mind while writing the section of Lecture I on "The Apostolic Succession," and they will be kept there throughout the following sections of this Lecture entitled, respectively, "Hall's Apostolic Ministry," "The Historical Critics," and "Grace of Sacraments."

II.

HALL'S APOSTOLIC MINISTRY.

THE learned Bishop of Vermont, Dr. Hall, recently published a notable essay entitled, "The Apostolic Ministry." Bishop Hall is, by common consent, the most capable and influential champion of Sacerdotalism in the American branch of the Anglican Communion. His position here corresponds to that of Bishop Gore, or Professor Moberly in the Mother Church. He wrote this essay with special reference to the burning questions which are now agitating the Anglican Communion, in their relation to the problem of Church union.

As Bishop Hall and I occupy widely separated points of view and as he criticizes my position, this reply to the great Anglican Sacerdotalists would be incomplete without some reference to his effort in "The Apostolic Ministry" to give support to the immense but rickety building

which Bishop Gore, Professor Moberly and other Sacerdotalists have built on the sand of exploded traditions.

Many of Bishop Hall's contentions, which, if allowed to stand, would make most strongly against the Level Plan for Church Union, have received sufficient consideration in the answers to the objections which have been raised to the plan, and in the reviews of the chief Sacerdotal doctrines. I believe that I shall be able to claim that the essay of this American champion of Sacerdotalism has been fully covered if attention is given here to: (1) the quotations from the Apostolic Fathers in support of the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession; (2) the quotation from Bishop Gore concerning the interpretation of the earlier by the later ecclesiastical history, and (3) the summary of conclusions which are alleged by Bishop Hall to have been established by the array of facts and arguments presented in his essay.

I. *The Quotations from the Apostolic Fathers*: One of Bishop Hall's quotations from the Fathers is taken from Tertullian and, as it is the strongest to be found in all Patristic literature down to the middle of the third century and as my space is limited, I shall confine myself to its consideration. This is a quotation which, taken alone, is well calculated to deceive the very elect among those who hold to the Republican, Protestant, Modern theory of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry. It is from Tertullian's animadversions against those among the professed followers of the Lord Jesus who had departed from the faith once delivered to the Saints, as it

was commonly held towards the close of the first half of the third century, and reads as follows:

“Let them show the origins of their Churches, let them unroll the line of their Bishops, running down in such a way by succession from the beginning that their first Bishop shall have had for his ordainer and predecessor one of the Apostles, or of the apostolic men, one who continued to the end in their fellowship. This is the way in which the apostolic Churches hand down their registers; as the Church of the Smyrnæans relates that Polycarp was placed therein by John, as the Church of Rome relates that Clement was ordained by Peter. So in like manner the rest of the Churches exhibit the names of men appointed to the Episcopate by Apostles whom they possess as transmitters of the Apostolic seed.” *The Prescription of Heretics*, xxxii.

I would be giving the Bishop of Vermont an advantage to which he is not entitled, if I omitted to direct attention to the fact that, in introducing his quotations, he speaks of establishing the Sacerdotal doctrine concerning the origin and authority of the Christian ministry by “the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers;” but, altogether the most important of his quotations is from the writings of Tertullian, who was not one of those fathers. No doubt, we here have a slip of the pen and I would not feel justified in even referring to it, except perhaps in a private communication, but for the fact that I have frequently maintained in this book that no Sacerdotal doctrine can be fastened upon Christianity by New Testament texts, or by

references to passages in the extant writings of the Apostolic Fathers. I do not consider that Tertullian in this or any other passage really gives the least support to Sacerdotalism. Still, he occasionally does speak of Christian ministers in such a way that, if the context and general tenor of his writings are disregarded, as they have been by the Bishop of Vermont, it might be contended with some show of reason that the position of such Ministers was held by him to be somewhat analogous to that of Jewish Priests.

The effort of Bishop Hall to support the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession by this passage from the writings of Tertullian is futile because, as the context and the book from which it is taken show, Tertullian was not here speaking of any such doctrine, and in fact there is no evidence anywhere that he held to it, or even knew of it.

The first doctrine of Apostolic Succession, the only one that down to Tertullian's time had been advocated by anybody, was not at all concerned with "the transmission of the ministerial commission," but with the preservation and perpetuation of the apostolic faith.

As quoted apart from its immediate and general context, the passage under consideration might leave the impression that Tertullian represents that the extension of the Apostolate, through an uninterrupted series of ordinations by the laying on of hands, secures the preservation of the seed of the Church to posterity. Tertullian was very far from intending to make any such representation.

According to Tertullian, the seed of the Church was

not an apostolic ministry, but an apostolic faith. Apostolic Succession consisted, then not in a continuous series of ordinations by the laying on of hands, through which ministerial authority and power were perpetuated, but in an uninterrupted line of witnesses by which the saving truths of the Gospel were handed down from generation to generation. The Bishop's quotation is taken from Chapter xxxii of Tertullian's "Prescription against Heretics." In Chapter xx of that work we have a clear statement by its author as to what he meant by the phrase, "the apostolic seed."

"Having on the authority of prophecy, which occurs in a psalm of David, chosen Matthias by lot as the twelfth, into the place of Judas, they obtained the promised power of the Holy Ghost for the gift of miracle and of utterance; and after first bearing witness to the faith in Jesus Christ throughout Judea and founding Churches, they next went forth into the world and preached the same doctrine of the same faith to the nations. They then in like manner founded Churches in every city, from which all the other Churches, one after another, derived the tradition of the faith, and the seeds of doctrine, and are every day deriving them, that they may become Churches. Indeed, it is on this account only that they will be able to deem themselves apostolic as being the offspring of apostolic Churches." *Præs. Hæret.* c. xx.

Here Tertullian asserts, in the clearest terms possible, that the Doctrine of Christ and not the Ministry of the

Apostles constitutes the Seed of the Church. This seed is the germ from which the Church of Christ springs. The doctrine is the seed, the Church is the outgrowth of the doctrine. The true Church of Christ is to be identified then, by its doctrine; not by its Ministry.

The interpretation which the Bishop of Vermont puts upon his quotation from Tertullian is, therefore, altogether erroneous. Tertullian did not have in mind an Episcopate which was created for the purpose of continuing, through a tactual succession by the laying on of hands in ordination, a Ministry which Christ had instituted, and to which he had given extraordinary powers, in order that the preaching and sacramental ministrations of its representatives might have supernatural effects. The Episcopate of which he speaks was created for the purpose of passing on, through a verbal succession, maintained by competent witnesses, whose lives overlapped each other, the saving doctrines of the all sufficient Gospel which Christ had preached.

Tertullian's contention in the passage quoted by Bishop Hall, as elsewhere, is that they only teach the true doctrine who have received that doctrine by succession from the Apostles. Polycarp received the doctrine from St. John. Irenæus received it from Polycarp. Only those who have received the Christian teaching through such a succession from the beginning can witness authoritatively as to the true doctrine of Christ. "Transmitters of the apostolate seed," means, as the context clearly shows, the transmitters of the apostolic doctrine.

It is surpassingly strange that one of Bishop Hall's reputation for learning and candor should lay himself so liable to just criticism as to represent that Tertullian gives support to the Sacerdotal conception of the Christian ministry. For the truth is, that so far was he from teaching the doctrine of the transmission of the ministerial commission through Bishops of the Apostolic Succession that he made no essential distinction between the Clergy and Laity.

"Vain," he says, "shall we be if we think that what is not lawful for Priests is lawful for Laymen. Are not even we Laymen Priests? It is written 'a Kingdom also and Priests to God and the Father hath He made us.' It is the authority of the Church, and the honor which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the (ministerial) Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the Laity. Accordingly, when there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical Order you offer (celebrate the Lord's Supper), and baptize, and are Priests alone for yourself. But where three are, a Church is, albeit they be Laymen. For each individual lives by his own faith, nor is there exception of persons with God. Therefore, if you have the right of a Priest in your own person, in cases of necessity, it behooves you to have likewise the discipline of a Priest." *Exhortation to Chastity*, Chapter vii.

"But," says Bishop Hall, "Tertullian had become a Montanist when he wrote this treatise."

If this passage, which virtually declares that there is

no essential difference between the Clergy and Laity stood alone, and it were conceded that Tertullian wrote it after becoming a Montanist, it would still have decisive weight; for he was to the end the same scholar, the same defender of the faith, the same champion of purity of life.

One of the great services rendered by Tertullian to the Church was his defense of the faith as contained in the most voluminous of his extant writings, the five books entitled, "Against Marcion." Marcion was the Gnostic arch-heretic whom, Irenæus tells us, Polycarp called to his face "the first born of satan." It is the commonly accepted opinion among scholars that this inestimably valuable work was written after its author had embraced Montanism.

One of the causes of Tertullian's becoming a Montanist was the tendency of the Church towards a Sacerdotal Ministry. Montanism was a protest against this, and against the usurpation by the official Ministry of the prerogatives of Prophets and Teachers which had been exercised by the Laity.

Drs. Hall, Gore and Moberly are very far from the truth when they characterize Montanism as a heresy and Tertullian as a heretic. The relationship of Montanism to the rest of the Church was essentially the same as that of the Anglican Churches to the Roman Church. Montanism was no more of a heresy than Anglicanism, and Tertullian was no more of a heretic than was Archbishop Cranmer.

The eminent scholar, Professor Moeller, says, "Mon-

tanism was not a new form of Christianity, nor were the Montanists a new sect. On the contrary, Montanism was really a reaction of the old, the primitive Church against the obvious tendency of the Church of the day to strike a bargain with the world, and arrange herself comfortably in it."

The passage, on the rights of the laity, is not Tertullian's only writing to the same effect. The teaching occurs also in his tract, "Concerning Baptism," which scholars generally assign to the pre-Montanist period of his life. "On giving it (Baptism) the Chief Priest (the Bishop) has the right; in the next place, the Presbyters and Deacons, yet not without the Bishop's authority. Beside these even Laymen have the right; for what is equally received can be equally given. Baptism which is equally God's property can be administered by all." *Chapter 17.*

Historical criticism renders it certain that in the New Testament and sub-apostolic periods of primitive Christianity, the daily evening meal of a Christian family was regarded as the Lord's Supper and that every head of such family, or, if absent, his representative, was held to be entirely competent to preside at the celebration of that meal and ordinance.

The purpose which the quotation from Tertullian is made to serve by Bishop Hall presents a striking illustration of the ease with which current beliefs and teachings may be read back into ancient writings in which they have no place, and of the utter worthlessness of the whole system of pseudoscopic traditions which is the basis

of Sacerdotalism. Tertullian's object was to show that the true Christian doctrine had been transmitted by a continuous line of trustworthy witnesses. He was a man of sense and knew that a knowledge and understanding of apostolic doctrine could not be transmitted by the laying on of hands, quite as well as we know that a knowledge and understanding of astronomical theorems can not be so transmitted. The apostolic doctrine was, according to Tertullian's theory, transmitted by what a great historical authority aptly calls "a tactual descent of tradition from the Apostles by the living voice."

Irenæus, from whom Bishop Hall quotes his next most important passage, is in agreement with Tertullian in this interpretation of Apostolic Succession. In his Treatise against the Heretics, he speaks of the "tradition which is preserved by means of the succession of the Presbyters;" and of the "truth which has come down by means of the succession of Bishops. By this succession, the ecclesiastical tradition from the Apostles, and the preaching of the truth, have come down to us. And this is most abundant proof that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the Apostles until now, and handed down in truth." *Book III, Chapters 2 and 3.*

II. *The Quotation from Bishop Gore:* Bishop Hall, pages 20-22, says: "It is not of course supposed that as definite and clear a scheme of the Ministry is to be found in the New Testament as is manifest later. Names certainly were not fixed; offices were gradually constituted.

Light is thrown back on what is obscure in the New Testament by what we find as the established order in the next age." This statement is supported by a quotation from Bishop Gore: "The earliest history must be interpreted in the light of what emerged from it as the regular and universally accepted order."

The position which Bishops Hall and Gore take here was almost universally occupied by the theologians of the Dark and Mediæval ages; but it was abandoned by the Reformers, and it would be difficult to find a single great name among the modern expert authorities in the field of Christian antiquities who occupies it.

It is often claimed that the science of historical criticism is in its infancy and that therefore the conclusions of its devotees cannot be accepted with safety.

The same objection might be urged with almost equal plausibility against any other science. This is largely true even of the ancient sciences of astronomy, chemistry and medicine and it is eminently so of geology, biology and psychology.

One hundred years ago psychology was a department of abstract metaphysics. What little there was of biological investigation was conducted by theorists under the high sounding name of natural history. The progress that has been made in this so-called science of natural history may be judged of by the fact that, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, the greatest among English naturalists maintained that fossils afforded no evidence of the antiquity of the earth, because they are simply "appear-

ances " which were created six thousand years ago with the rest of the earth and universe.

If this naturalist had been a Sacerdotal theologian, he probably would have attributed these fossils, "sports of nature, created, dead and petrified," to the devil who wanted to use them, at the psychological moment, to deceive men, by leading natural historians to reject the theory that the universe was created in six days of twenty-four hours each by the direct commandments of God. There are many Sacerdotalists who seem to feel quite justified in rejecting facts of history as deceptions of the devil, if they make against the idea that when the happy angels drew the Lord of Glory up into Heaven on one end of their golden rope, they let down on its other end a Bishop, gorgeously attired and fully equipped with mitre, cope, staff and key, to establish a Church with hierarchial and sacramental systems, in accordance with complete specifications which were handed to him midway as the ends of the rope with their precious burdens passed each other.

Whenever Sacerdotalists are hard pushed by those who are acquainted with the results of modern historical criticism, they claim that the critics have gone wrong because, in their efforts to arrive at the truth respecting primitive Christianity, they refuse to recognize the generally accepted traditions which have come down through the ages, as being of equal value with the statements of reliable historical records. They argue, with much show of reason, that doctrines which have been believed at all times in all places by all orthodox Christians are just as trust-

worthy as they would be if a chapter and verse could be cited in favor of them from the New Testament, or from the writings of an early Church father. This is what Bishop Hall means when he speaks of "light thrown back on what is obscure." The same thing is meant by Bishop Gore when he says, "The earliest history must be interpreted in the light of what emerged from it as the regular and universally accepted order."

But in this assertion Bishops Hall and Gore, the greatest among American and English champions of Sacerdotalism, beg the whole question. For the contention of the expert critics is, that the result of their historical investigation proves that there is no universally accepted order or tradition which can be cited in support of a single Sacerdotal doctrine or custom.

The doctrines of which it can be said that they have been believed at all times, in all places, by all orthodox Christians are very few, and none of them has a Sacerdotal character. Indeed, almost the only doctrine on behalf of which this claim of support by an universal tradition can be made, is the Messiahship of Jesus. The most primitive confession of faith was very short, even when compared with the so-called Catholic Creeds, which were formulated in the fourth and later centuries, to say nothing about modern confessions of faith. In New Testament times, the Christian Creed really had but this one article, or its equivalent, "Jesus is the Messiah."

That great theological thinker, Alexander Campbell, rendered a much needed service to Christianity, by calling

attention to and ably emphasizing the fact that the faith of the first generation of Christians, of whom we have an account in the Gospel narratives, was, compared with that of succeeding generations, exceedingly simple, both as to the number and character of its articles. As he correctly represents, the confession, "Jesus is the Messiah," or "Jesus is the Christ," constituted about all there was of the creed which differentiated Christianity from the Jewish religion.

Historical criticism has shown that the Messianic conception, quite contrary to what Bishops Hall and Gore would have us believe, was not at all Priestly or Sacerdotal in character. It was, in fact, a civil rather than a religious conception, more in line with the idea of royalty than priesthood. The first followers of Jesus as the Messiah thought of Him as an Over King not as a High Priest. The High Priesthood of Jesus was a much later conception than His Over Kingship.

Jesus was a Layman. His first Apostles were laymen. Neither He nor they were seriously, if at all, thought of as Priests, until after the New Testament times. This is a fact not a theory, which in itself proves that no Sacerdotal doctrine can be fastened upon Christianity as something which has been believed always, everywhere and by all.

All the claims of Bishops Hall and Gore and of Professor Moberly to the contrary notwithstanding, the Sacerdotal conception of the Christian ministry, which accounts for it upon the devolutionary hypothesis of an Apostolic Succession, is a theory, quite as much so as the Republican

theory, which accounts for it upon the evolutionary hypothesis. Both conceptions rest upon theory or philosophy.

In view of all that Sacerdotalists have to say in disparagement of philosophy, it is well that they should be reminded that the whole doctrinal system of Sacerdotalism may be compared to a river which was formed by the confluence of the Jewish and Heathen systems of philosophy; and that, but for this coming together, the mighty Roman Church, with all that it did for the world, by carrying Christianity through the Dark and Mediæval ages, would have been an impossibility. Professor Wernle, the eminent historical critic, states the truth respecting the indispensable relationship to Christianity of philosophy where he says:

“The Apostle Paul would have nothing to do with philosophy. He was still an apologist of the Layman's religion. Human wisdom and divine revelation were entirely opposed to each other in his view. Long before his time, however, an alliance had been concluded between these two opposites in Alexandria and even in Palestine. As Clement of Alexandria so beautifully expresses it, the divine reason did not merely educate for Christianity the Jews through the law but the Greeks through philosophy. Philosophical and religious ethics, had met and had discovered, to their astonishment that they were near relations. Had it not been for this alliance, Christianity had not conquered the world.”

The difference between the Sacerdotal, devolutionary and the Republican, evolutionary, doctrinal, philosophical

theories is as to the foundation upon which rests the alleged facts, by which they are respectively supported.

The system of alleged facts upon which Sacerdotalists seek to support their philosophical, devolutionary theory concerning the origin and authority of the Christian ministry rests upon tradition. The system of alleged facts upon which Republicans seek to support their philosophical evolutionary theory of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry rests upon history. The real difference between Sacerdotalism and Republicanism, so far as the Christian ministry is involved, is then the difference between tradition and history.

In the unscientific Mediæval times, history and tradition were mixed as wheat and chaff; and the chaff was generally supposed to be wheat. In this scientific age, historical criticism is winnowing the chaff of tradition from the wheat of history with the result of discovering that the whole Sacerdotal system of doctrines is chaff.

Historical criticism has shown that so far as the Christian church, ministry and sacraments are concerned, Sacerdotalism is the embodiment of a twofold fiction. There is first the fictitious theory by which these institutions are given a supernatural, devolutionary origin and character. Then there is the fictitious tradition by which the theory is justified.

Sacerdotalists pursue an inverted order in their doctrinal inventings and buildings. First they invent and build the superstructure, a veritable castle in the air. Then they invent and lay the foundation of tradition for their

castle. Finally, they furnish it from cellar to garret with invented furniture of the most unique and marvelous designs.

Republican Protestantism on the evidence afforded by the scientifically established facts of the history of primitive Christianity, proves that the monarchical Episcopate came into existence as a Providential, but nevertheless perfectly natural development. Sacerdotal "Catholicism" on the purely fictitious assumption of a superstitious tradition, which took its rise from the seeds of corruption, brought into Christianity by imperfectly converted Jews and He then, makes it out that the monarchical Episcopate is, by an ordinance of the Lord Jesus, a continuation of the Apostolate, to the representatives of which, and to their successors by tactual ordination, He is alleged to have entrusted the founding and ruling of a visible, organic Church or Kingdom, which was established in fulfillment of an important, if not the chief part of His mission; and that, therefore, this institution, the monarchical Episcopate, is of a supernatural and devolutionary origin.

There is not a passage in the literary remains of primitive Christianity upon which this tremendous assumption of Sacerdotalism is rested more heavily than the one quoted by Bishop Hall from Tertullian's writings which, as we have seen, does not relate to the succession of a devoluted apostolic office, but to the succession of a devoluted apostolic faith.

The testimony of Tertullian is to the effect that the faith was established at Smyrna by a succession of wit-

nesses to St. John's teaching, of which succession Polycarp was the first connecting link with the Apostle, and that this faith was established at Rome by a succession of witnesses to St. Peter's teaching of which succession, Clement was the first connecting link with the Apostle.

Neither here, nor anywhere else does Tertullian's testimony give the least support to the essential basic assumption of Sacerdotalism, that is, the existence in the persons of monarchical Bishops of tactual successors to the Apostles which successors are the official representatives of Christ, and, as such, mediatorial Priests, in whom alone exists the seed from which can spring a true Christian church, or a Christian ministry whose official acts are valid.

Respecting the tradition of the establishment of such a succession of monarchical Bishops at Rome by St. Peter through Clement, I assert most emphatically and unqualifiedly that historical criticism has shown it to be utterly baseless. The monarchical Episcopate was not founded at Rome until long after the death of St. Peter; and, when it did come into being, its first representatives were ordained by local Elders who were really Laymen, not by men who were Apostles by reason of the laying on of hands in an unbroken series of ordinations.

St. Peter died before A. D. 70. One hundred years later, the Episcopate had not yet reached the monarchical and Sacerdotal stages in its development. What there was of this institution even then, was, as to its personnel, an undifferentiated part of the Presbytery. Down to very nearly the beginning of the third century, the Epis-

copate was not a distinct office, but only a Presbyterial function.

An elder was requested, or elected, or appointed to perform some important service for the Christian brotherhood, and, if he accepted the commission, he was, while engaged in the performance of the duties expected of him, a Bishop. No doubt, Deacons and Laymen sometimes assumed the responsibilities connected with such commissions and so became Bishops.

Having discharged their respective Episcopal functions, such as the superintendency of an important work of charity, or of a building operation, or of a diplomatic correspondence, or of a missionary expedition, or of the establishment of a burying ground, or of the collection of a set of the Gospel narratives, these Bishops sank back to the level which they had formerly occupied. Probably, some among these functionary Bishops, whose services were exceptionally important, long continued and often repeated, permanently retained the title as an honorable distinction; so that some of the larger Churches may have had proportionately as many Bishops as Kentucky has colonels.

As the Christian communities or Churches grew and their eleemosynary and missionary undertakings increased, both in number and magnitude, there was of course a corresponding tendency in the Episcopate to permanency. The progress of this natural tendency carried with it an ever increasing accumulation of honors, and so it inevitably culminated in placing the monarchical Episcopate above

the oligarchal Presbyterate, as a separate and distinct institution. But this stage or development, though progress towards it was greatly accelerated by the increase of proprietary interests, the rise of heresy and the bursting of storm after storm of decimating and otherwise terrible persecution, was not reached until two hundred years after the Roman executioner had sent St. Peter to his rich reward. Even then, and for a long time afterwards, the Episcopate was Congregational and Republican in character.

The historical critics are showing, by an ever accumulating array of scientifically established facts, that still another long century of evolutionary development was required for the production of the sacerdotal, caste, monarchical Bishops who collectively constituted the institution which we are calling the "Historic Episcopate."

Bishops Gore and Hall and Professor Moberly would have us believe, on the evidence of traditions, that this "Historic" Episcopate was instituted by Jesus in the persons of the twelve Apostles, and perpetuated through them, in accordance with His directions, by the laying on of hands in ordination by an unbroken series of ever multiplying successors from generation to generation. The science of historical criticism has shown these traditions to be so many fabrications of undigested Jewish and Heathen converts to Christianity. But the point upon which I am here insisting is, that St. Peter took no part in the establishment of the monarchical or of any Episcopate.

It is barely possible, though highly improbable, that the

institution of the monarchical Episcopate, in its most primitive form, may have come into being, in some of the more highly developed Churches, before the death of St. John. The little space which remains will be devoted to a consideration of the more interesting, though, as I believe, equally baseless tradition relating to his part in its founding.

Unless we have it at Jerusalem in the person of St. James, the monarchical Episcopate did not exist in any Church until very late in the apostolic age. If, however, St. James was the first representative of this institution, it certainly is not of apostolic authority, for he did not owe his unique position to the Apostles, but to the accidental, or rather Providential circumstances that he was the brother of the Lord, and that the reins of leadership were taken up by him, either on his own responsibility or by common request, when they had been dropped by the Apostles, upon their fleeing from Jerusalem to escape the Herodian persecution. The reins thus acquired were not relinquished upon the return of the Apostles.

In the associations, brotherhoods or Churches of other places, no one occupied a position corresponding to that of St. James in the Jerusalem brotherhood, until near the end of the apostolic period. If, in accordance with tradition, St. John survived to the extreme age of one hundred years, if Ignatius and Polycarp were monarchical Bishops and owed their office to his appointment, or if the angels of the seven Asia Minor Churches were real personages, and if St. John wrote the Book of the Reve-

lation, all very big "ifs," there would perhaps be no insuperable chronological difficulty in the way of supposing that he lived to see the first microscopic, protoplasmic germs of the monarchical Episcopate, and that he may have given some encouragement to their culture.

Here and there an historical critic of first rank does indeed hesitatingly venture out upon the shaky ground of tradition far enough for the making of the suggestion that St. John did live to see some of these germs and that he was so pleased with them that he gave them his apostolic blessing; but such scholars are few and far between who make this suggestion without completely encasing it with qualifications to the effect, that the Beloved Disciple had nothing to do with the organization of the germs, that he was not alive when they reached maturity and that he made no formal provision for a regular succession of the adult specimen in the several Churches, such as the Sacerdotal hypothesis postulates.

I must seriously and strongly insist that the admission that St. John may have lived to see some of the primordial germs of the monarchical Episcopate, and that he may have given them the encouragement and sanction of his prayers for their future welfare, marks the utmost limits to which the most elastic of imaginations could be stretched in confirmation of the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession, without breaking away altogether from the restraints of the established historical facts having a bearing upon the subject of the origin and authority of the Christian church and ministry.

The tradition respecting St. John constitutes, so to speak, the last ditch of the Sacerdotalists in which they can take refuge, while continuing the desperate struggle to maintain their doctrine concerning the apostolicity of the monarchical Episcopate, with all the non-Christian enormities, Jewish and Heathen, that they rest upon it.

It is really no longer within the range of possibilities that any scholar should maintain, without qualifications which are tantamount to a nullification of his arguments, that the other Apostles had anything to do with the establishment of the monarchical Episcopate. This being the case, even if the altogether improbable tradition respecting St. John's connection with the institution be true, it cannot be consistently claimed that it is among the Gospel essentials.

For, if in accordance with the representations of Sacerdotalists, Jesus ordained that the Twelve and their successors should take His place, making the existence of the Church and the efficacy of the sacramental means of grace, and in fact, covenanted Gospel salvation itself to depend upon them, how is the palpable lack of interest in such a vital ordinance of His to be given a reasonable explanation?

And even if some ingenious Sacerdotalist should hit upon a reason for this hitherto inexplicable neglect of such an important matter by all the Apostles, save one, and by him until he was extremely old, how could the representatives of the several Historic Episcopates, in any literal, proper sense of the phrase, be said to be the tactual

successors of the Apostles? The best that could be claimed for them is that they are successors of St. John.

But where is the Divine commission by which any one of the Apostles was authorized to establish a monarchical Episcopate, and make provision for its perpetuation? The only Apostle on behalf of whom a claim to do such a thing could be made, with any show of reason, is St. Peter. But it is no longer claimed by any first rate scholar that the monarchical Episcopate was established before his death.

The theory respecting the origin of the monarchical Episcopate that finds most favor among the expert workers in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities is that which makes St. Paul, rather than Jesus or any of the Twelve responsible for its doctrinal germ. But St. Paul was not an original Apostle and therefore a Pauline Episcopate, whether of early or late development, could not, I think, be made to serve as the basis of the Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession. However this may be the representative Sacerdotalists, with whose writings we are here concerned, have as yet made no really serious effort to press it into this service, and as neither they nor any of their successors, as Sacerdotal apologists are likely ever to make a successful attempt to do so, there is no occasion for entering here upon so large and difficult a subject.

That which is absolutely certain, that which really settles the whole question respecting the devolutionary or evolutionary origin of the monarchical Episcopate is the simple, undeniable fact that Episcopacy is but the eccle-

siastical embodiment of the principles which lie at the basis of every social organism, and exist quite independently of Christianity. These principles, as we have repeatedly had occasion to observe, are unity and superintendence under one headship. They are Divine forces which belong to the very constitution of things social, and consequently, their manifestation in the Christian associations or churches was an inevitable necessity.

The Episcopal principles organized themselves. They did not need a human organizer, any more than the principle of gravitation, which holds the universe together, or the principle of conservation of energy, upon which its continuance is dependent, needs such an organizer. If there was to be a Christian church of any age and size, with anything to do, the principles of unity and superintendence under one headship would, of course, have in due time some embodiment in a monarchical Episcopate.

The institution of the monarchical Episcopate did not then require a St. Peter or a St. Paul or a St. John to organize it, any more than the sun, moon and stars require a lamp-lighter. As these Heavenly bodies shine of themselves on account of the very nature by which God endowed them, so the monarchical Episcopate exists of itself, because of a Divinely appointed necessity, inherent in all social organisms, whether domestic, religious, civil, industrial or commercial.

Everywhere, throughout the whole social realm, the monarchical Episcopate exists as a Divine necessity. The Sacerdotal hypothesis of the origin and authority of the

Episcopate of the Christian churches is therefore as unscientific and belittling as it is unhistoric and superstitious.

As the whole superstructure of Christian Sacerdotalism rests upon tradition, the interests of truth require that the worthlessness of its testimony to the institutions, doctrines and customs of Christianity should be made to appear. Fortunately, Auguste Sabatier, the late Dean of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris, one of the greatest among modern scientific theologians and historical critics, has rendered this service to the cause of truth in an exceedingly comprehensive and brilliantly illuminating passage that is short enough for quotation. No candid representative of Sacerdotalism, who is open to conviction, and knows of the eminence of the Dean as an historical authority, can read the passage and be quite the same Sacerdotalist afterwards that he was before. It runs as follows:

“To raise a new historic tradition to the rank of supernatural tradition and divine, permanent inspiration in the Church itself, one must either forget history or do violence to it. The Catholic theory rests upon three premises which are not only undemonstrable, but fictitious: 1. That the Apostles drew up and left to their successors an unchangeable formulary of Christian faith. 2. That succeeding generations added nothing, subtracted nothing, changed nothing, as to the customs and ideas which they inherited. 3. That Bishops are the successors of the Apostles and heirs of their gifts and privileges.

“These three affirmations are wholly illusory, and a single reading of the original texts is enough to dissipate them irrecoverably. But at the end of the second century historic criticism did not exist. Men lived in the supernatural, and the stream of the marvelous flowed full. In such a time dogma becomes a prolific mother of legends. The reflection of the idea then dominant transforms the vision of the past. History is altered wherever it shows itself contrary to the dogma; where silence would do it harm it is made to speak. It is common enough to see children who have attained years of strength fostering and caring for the aged father to whom they owe life. Thus, in the course of the centuries, the pious legends of tradition came forward to legitimize and defend the dogma of which they were born.

“These legends, which we must remember were the product and complement of the Catholic theory of tradition, came into being at three points, and from generation to generation developed along three parallel lines, with ever greater definiteness and wealth of embellishment.

“1. The first were the Episcopal lists, which, from about the year 180, began to be formed in all the great Churches to establish the line of Apostolic Succession in material and tangible form. To this end traditional memories were drawn upon and names were borrowed from the apostolic writings. Starting with Eleutherus, who died in 188, we may go back by names sufficiently authentic as far as Sixtus or Alexander, about the year 130; but

back of this the lists of the early popes or Bishops of Rome have absolutely no value. The reason is simple. There was no Episcopate in Rome, in any proper sense of the word, before the reign of Hadrian (117-138), as we shall presently see.

“ There was need of these official lists in the polemic against the Gnostic doctors and Montanist prophets; and it is a matter of experience that documents of which any authority finds a practical need are always produced.

“ 2. The twelve Jewish Apostles of Jesus appear to have restricted their teaching to their own people. Paul gives them no part in the evangelization of the pagan world. It is one of the paradoxes of history that they should have become from the close of the second century the traditional patrons and authorities of the great Churches in whose foundation they had almost no part, while Paul and his fellow-laborers, Titus, Sosthenes, Aquila, Apollos, those daring pioneers of the new religion, are forgotten or relegated to the second rank and to obscurity. Paul is despoiled by John in Ephesus and Asia, as in Antioch and Rome by Peter, whose humble and docile satellite he becomes. This historic paradox is explained by the legends which came into being at the epoch at which we have now arrived. They show us the Twelve assembled at Jerusalem dividing among themselves the map of the world, and then setting forth, each to conquer with the strong aid of a miracle and at last of martyrdom, the province which to him had been assigned. From the forensic standpoint of the theory of

tradition, it was necessary that the Episcopal order should everywhere find the name of an Apostle to which to fasten its initial link.

“ 3. Finally, to all these legends must be added, as tending to the same end, those which grew up around the Symbol (Creed) of the Apostles. In the beginning the title apostolic, applied to a traditional rule of faith, was doubtless intended only to declare the essential conformity of this faith to that preached by the Apostles. But soon the people began to understand it in a stricter and more literal sense. About the middle of the third century it was said and believed in Rome that the symbol had been brought to the capital of the empire by Peter himself, and consequently that it dated back to the very foundation of the Church. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, confirmed this pious legend which Rufinus a little later embellished. Before separating, says the writer, the Apostles with a view to defining the faith which they were about to preach throughout the universe, conjointly put into form the terms of the symbol which each one then carried with him. But a legend is like a plant, continually putting out new branches and flowers. Isidore of Seville knows much more about this one than his predecessors. He tells how the Apostles met in conclave in Jerusalem. Each one of them moved by the Holy Spirit, rising in turn, uttered, in the silence of the others, an article of the Credo. This is why the Creed has twelve articles. It became possible even to set over against each of the articles the name of the Apostle who proclaimed it. The Roman Cate-

chism at last adopted and consecrated the whole legend. What more striking example could be cited of the birth, evolution, and triumph of a religious tradition?" *Religions of Authority*, pages 58-61.

Elsewhere Dean Sabatier says: "The history of Catholicism (Sacerdotalism) presents the singular law, that dogmatic theory always lags two or three centuries behind the practical reality. A certain condition is produced by the action of general and natural causes; thence, the condition being established, dogma comes in to supernaturalize, and consecrate it in a formula assumed to be primitive and divine." *Religions of Authority*, page 69.

Sabatier has stated the case against Sacerdotal traditionalism none too strongly. The Jewish religion was originally non-Sacerdotal in character. It had been the Protestantism of the ancient world. During all the ages from Abraham and the Patriarchs, down to the Babylonian captivity, the Jews had borne a relationship to the other peoples resembling that of the Puritans to the rest of Protestantism in the Reformation period.

But while sojourning in Babylon the Jewish exiles took up with heathen Sacerdotalism, the seed of which they planted at Jerusalem upon their return under Ezra and Nehemiah. These leaders, Prophet and Governor, co-operated in the rebuilding of the Temple, and in the establishment of the Sacerdotal ministry and ritual. The transported seed of Sacerdotalism sprang up and became a great tree which, by the time of the Saviour's birth,

completely overshadowed and dwarfed the native religious growth.

This imposing growth was the gorgeous and promising fig tree of Sacerdotalism, or traditionalism, upon which the Divine Layman found nothing but leaves and which He cursed. It is to this cursing and the withering which followed that modern civilization owes its existence. The harshest things that Jesus had to say were said against the husbandmen of this tree, the Scribes and Pharisees. It was against them and their Sacerdotal successors in the Christian church that He pronounced His severe woes.

We have now made it appear that Sacerdotal "Catholics" are as really theorists as Republican Protestants, differing from them only as to the basis upon which they rest their theories concerning the Christian church, ministry and sacraments. Sacerdotalists rest their theories respecting these on the basis of tradition; Republicans on historical facts. Historical criticism has shown the basis of tradition to be so unreliable as not to afford a safe foundation for any important doctrine.

The real question at issue between Sacerdotalists and Republicans is not, then, concerned with the right to theorize, for when the Sacerdotalist calls the Republican a theorist he is following the foolish example of the pot in calling the kettle black. It is a question of whether or not traditional, Sacerdotal Christianity may be and should be rejected for historical, Republican Christianity.

The answer to this question is found in the fact that both Jesus and His great interpreter, St. Paul, rejected Jewish

Sacerdotalism. As they rejected the Sacerdotal priesthood, doctrines and customs which had been carried over from Heathenism into Judaism so we not only may but should reject the Sacerdotal ministry, doctrines and customs which have been carried over from Judaism and Heathenism to Christianity.

In referring to the assertion of Bishop Hall, about the necessity of interpreting New Testament and early Christianity by the light of the existing institutions and accepted traditions of later times, a friend of mine disposes of his claims on behalf of Sacerdotalism in this summary and effectual manner: "On the theory of Bishops Hall and Gore, any accepted order of the present, however new the development, could be read back into the history of the past, if that history happened, for any reason, to be sufficiently 'obscure' on the matter to satisfy the advocates of the accepted order."

III. *The Summary of Conclusions which are alleged by Bishop Hall to have been established by the array of Facts and Arguments presented in his Essay:* 1. The representation is made (page 34) that "any tampering with the principle of an authoritative Ministry with a transmitted commission would indefinitely delay any possibility of reunion with the Latin and Greek communions and forfeit our opportunity to act as mediator between the old historic churches and the reformed bodies."

There is something altogether impracticable and bizarre about the idea that the Anglican Communion is in a position to mediate between the Roman and Greek Churches

and the Protestant Churches. There is no hope of our commending ourselves to the Roman Church, however extreme a Sacerdotal basis we may occupy; and Sacerdotalism puts us altogether out of touch with Protestantism.

2. In his criticism of my plan as he understands it (page 35), Bishop Hall leaves out of account two facts: (1) That the plan provides for the evolution of unity through a Common Ministry, and (2) that Sacerdotal Episcopacy is no guarantee against error in doctrine.

The Roman and Greek Churches have always been Episcopal and yet in Article xix we declare that they "have erred in matters of faith." Sacerdotal Episcopacy has likewise failed to preserve unity among those possessing it. The most hopeless divisions of Christendom are those which separate the Roman, Greek and Anglican Communions, all of which have one of the three Historic Episcopates.

3. In his statement of the issue (page 35) the Bishop of Vermont says: "Church principles, including the orderly transmission of the ministerial commission are a part of God's design for His Church, or they are merely human arrangements, convenient perhaps and desirable under many conditions, but necessarily alterable."

I understand these words to mean that a Ministry derived according to the Sacerdotal theory of the Apostolic Succession is a part of God's plan and so of Divine origin.

And that a Ministry otherwise derived is of human arrangement and origin.

This is the explanation of such expressions as the following made by a diocesan convention of the Episcopal Church. "Any plan for Church unity which involves a surrender or impairment of our belief in the superior and Divine origin of the Ministry of the Holy Catholic Church as distinct from the Ministries of the Protestant Bodies would be unacceptable."

Here again we see the unnaturalness of the Sacerdotal conception of the supernatural. Before my door, as I write, is a wagon on which is painted in large letters, "Artificial Ice." Here comes the driver with one hundred pounds of it. I do not want artificial ice, but genuine ice, and he is bringing the real thing. The "manufactured" ice which we use in the South is just as real, genuine, and useful as is the "unmanufactured" ice used in the North. Both were formed by the operation of the same Divinely appointed laws of nature. In the one case, man directed and utilized those laws and in the other he did not; but both kinds of ice are equally natural and equally divine. The ice that I use is not artificial.

Episcopacy is, as I have repeatedly said, the embodiment of the eternal, universal principles of unity and superintendence under one headship. One such Ministry is just as much of Divine origin as another. If the Ministries of the ancient Churches are compared with the "unmanufactured" ice of the North, the Ministries of the modern Churches may be compared to the "manufactured" ice

of the South. No ground in reason presents itself on which the ancient Churches can set up the claim to a more Divine, authoritative or efficient Ministry than that which is possessed by the modern Churches. As both ices, unmanufactured and manufactured are Divine and serve the purposes of ice; so both Ministries, ancient and modern, are Divine for all the purposes of a Christian ministry.

It should be remembered by the representatives of the ancient Christian churches with inherited Ministries that the quality of age is not a guarantee of superiority. Rather the opposite is true. A strong argument might be formulated to the effect that human institutions, like men and women, have an age limit, beyond which their usefulness diminishes rather than increases. It cannot be maintained that a Church has no age limit, because it is a Divine institution; for surely it is no more Divine than its people. All indispensable human institutions are Divine because the people who constitute them are Divine as the result of the Incarnation which took place in the Adam and the Christ.

Horses and dogs, though they are very noble creatures, cannot constitute a Divine institution. The Divineness of an institution depends upon the Divineness of its adherents and upon the Divineness of the principles which it embodies. The Family, State and Church are Divine institutions. In the degree of their Divineness the Family comes first, not the Church, as Sacerdotalists would have us believe. The Family is the most Divine of institu-

tions because it is the foundation of all the other institutions which enter into the superstructure of civilization.

The universal extension and complete development of the Kingdom of Christ is the goal of civilization. In proportion as an institution helps forward toward that goal it is Divine in its efficiency. As I have said, institutions, like men and women who constitute them, have an age limit. Institutions die a much slower death than men and women. But, nevertheless, they do die. Unlike men and women they generally die of old age; and unlike them also they become antiquated and useless long before their death.

If an institution is to continue Divine in the sense of efficiency it must constantly be renewing its youth by readjustments, and even by reorganizations which will enable it to meet new conditions. There is a close analogy between human bodies and human institutions. As the body of an octogenarian is not more than seven years old, so the organization of a millennial Church is not more than a generation or two old. There is, then, a sense in which it may be said that the Methodist Church is as old as the Roman Church.

The Methodist Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Congregational forms of the Ministry are just as truly of Divine origin and authority as the Roman, the Greek or the Anglican. All alike are of human origin and authority; and, all alike are of Divine origin and authority, in proportion as they embody the eternal and Divine principles of unity and superintendence under one headship.

4. I am glad to see that Bishop Hall contends (page 36) that the Ministry cannot be regarded as a caste; but on the theory that ministerial character is given in ordination it must be concluded that at the laying on of hands by a successor of the Apostles the ordinand is differentiated from other Christians. Upon this hypothesis it is necessary for us to conclude that the Ministry is a caste.

5. In considering St. Paul's analogy in which he compares the members of the Church to the several members of the human body (page 37), Bishop Hall loses sight of the fact that there is no differentiation between the members of the human body corresponding to the differentiation between the Clergy and the Laity which the Sacerdotal theory of ministerial character conveyed by ordination postulates.

6. The Bishop of Vermont (page 38) gives up the task of proving that the transmission of the ministerial commission is limited exclusively to the Episcopate.

This is an important concession, for if Episcopal ordination is not the exclusive mode, but only the ordinary and normal mode of such transmission, it follows that this ordination is not absolutely necessary to a valid Ministry; and hence some other kind of ordination might be adopted which would be valid and might in time become normal and ordinary.

As I interpret Bishop Hall's language a non-Episcopal ordination would be an abnormal or extraordinary ordination, but that nevertheless it might transmit the ministerial commission, and consequently enable the ordinand to

validly administer the Sacraments. The Level Plan for Church Union could be carried out on this admission.

7. Bishop Hall (page 38) comes over fully to my position when he says: "The acceptance of no theory of the Apostolic Succession is required of either Lay people or of the Clergy. The due transmission of ministerial authority may be regarded as belonging rather to the Discipline of the Church than in the stricter sense to its Doctrine."

This admission determines to which of Bishop Hall's two divisions (page 35) "the due transmission of ministerial authority" belongs: (1) whether it is a part of "God's design for His Church," a "principle of the kingdom of Christ," "a necessary guarantee for God's pledged sanction and ratification of the administration of the Sacraments" and unchangeable; or (2) whether it is of "human arrangement," or a matter of "spiritual convenience, or ecclesiastical order" and changeable.

Bishop Hall's admission that the transmission of ministerial authority belongs to discipline and not to doctrine clearly places Episcopal ordination in the second of these divisions and I agree with this conclusion.

This is the bed-rock upon which I build my Level Plan; and it finds its ample justification in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer: "In every Church, what cannot be clearly determined to belong to Doctrine must be referred to Discipline; and therefore, by common consent and authority, may be altered, abridged, enlarged, amended or otherwise disposed of, as may seem most con-

venient for the edification of the people; according to the various exigencies of times and occasions."

Bishop Hall and I agree that the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which we are members, and the great Communion of which it is a part, has no doctrine of obligation concerning the Christian ministry. Hence, he is perfectly free to hold to the Sacerdotal, traditional, mediæval, unscientific, devolutionary, supernatural theory of its origin and authority, and I, thank God, am equally free to hold to the Protestant, Republican, historical, modern, scientific, evolutionary, natural theory.

The Prayer Book is, next to the Bible, the highest authority in the Churches of the Anglican Communion. It is, so to speak, "the little Bible" of these Churches and holds a place with them which corresponds to that held by "the big Bible," in Christendom at large. The Prayer Book would fully justify our Churches in officially proposing the Level Plan for Church Union to their sister and daughter Churches.

As even Bishop Hall admits, questions appertaining to the Christian ministry, belong to the realm of Discipline. As we have just seen, in the Preface to the Prayer Book, it is distinctly declared that what belongs to this realm "by common consent and authority, may be altered, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions."

Provision has been made for the covering of much of the ground traversed by the great Sacerdotal writers, Drs. Gore, Moberly and Hall, in the section of Lecture I, entitled, "The Apostolic Succession," and in the remain-

ing sections of this Lecture, "The Historical Critics," and "Grace of Sacraments." The showing as a whole is to the effect that, quite contrary to the fundamental assumption of Sacerdotalists, covenanted Gospel salvation is not inseparably connected with Baptism and the Holy Communion, and that the validity and efficacy of these Sacraments are dependent upon the Lay Priesthood of the recipient, not upon the Ministerial Priesthood of the administrators of them.

III.

THE HISTORICAL CRITICS.

IF SPACE could be commanded for the purpose, I should be glad to make extensive quotations from the writings of the great expert authorities in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities, for the purpose of confirming the representations that have been made in this book concerning the origin and authority of the Christian ministry and the development of the monarchical Episcopate; but, under the limitations which are upon me, the best that I can do is to give six or seven among such quotations and they must be short.

I.

The first quotation shall be a remarkably illuminating extract from a book entitled, "The Apostolic Age." The author of this work has specialized in Primitive Church history sufficiently to secure to himself the enviable

distinction of being invited to treat of the most difficult and important period in the whole range of ecclesiastical history, as it is so admirably covered in that recently published great work, entitled, "Ten Epochs of Church History."

Besides stating the facts with which we are here concerned, this author makes two or three citations that should set Sacerdotalists to thinking. We begin our quotation from "The Apostolic Age," where the author cites Dr. Hort as saying of the New Testament Church:

" 'Of officers higher than Elders we find nothing that points to an institution or system, nothing like the Episcopal system of later times.' "

Then our author goes on to say: "In the New Testament the word *Episcopos*, as applied to men, mainly, if not always, is not a title, but a description of the Elder's function. Many would except Phil. i: 1, from the latter rule. But the former holds not only for the New Testament, but for Clement's epistle also. *Episcopoi* or overseers (Bishops), then, are always found as a body of officers in a single local Church; and no function is as yet definitely concentrated in the hands of one *Episcopos* in such a sense as to put him in an order by himself. The nearest approach to this before 70 (besides James' position at Jerusalem, due to personal and family reasons) appears in the temporary functions entrusted to Timothy and Titus, as representing St. Paul in the completion of organization in Ephesus and Crete respectively. But they were not permanent local officers, only apostolic assistants on detached service. Thus the first real forerunner of

the single or monarchial Bishop, as found in the Ignatian Epistles (about 110-115 A. D.) is Diotrephes, who seems to have been paramount in his Church. Yet there is no sign that even he was superior in status, rather than influence, to his fellow-elders.

“It is possible, however, that in the last years of the first century things were setting steadily towards the emergence of a third order distinct from Elders or Presbyter-Bishops, as these were now becoming more marked off from Deacons. This may be inferred from the Ignatian letters some fifteen or twenty years later; although even then, Ignatius, as his insistent tone implies, writes not as an historian, describing facts, but rather as a prophet impressing an ideal. In his advocacy of a single Bishop as a center of visible unity in each Church, he had his eye on the needs of the future rather than on the facts of the past. He saw in the actual predominance of a presiding elder or Bishop, *primus inter pares*, as found at Antioch and in certain developed Churches in the provinces of Asia, and nowhere else to our knowledge save in the person of our Lord’s kinsman, Symeon—the best guarantee of outward order at a time when centrifugal tendencies were strong. Accordingly he tried to strengthen the Bishop’s position by furnishing it with a new theoretic basis. But the striking thing is that, while fertile in ideal arguments and analogies, he never claims for his favorite institution apostolic origin or commission, and that in the region where John’s name was of supreme authority. As

Dr. Moberly justly observes: 'It is only as the symbol of unity that the Bishop is magnified.'

"Ignatius therefore fully supports Jerome's account of the rise of the single pastor or Bishop, namely, 'that the germs of factions might be removed.' And in this light the development was a valuable one, so expedient that the vast majority of Churches to-day make it the key-stone of organization, the last addition, making firm the rest of the arch." *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 489, 490, 491.

II.

Professor Mosheim, a celebrated expert in the field of Christian antiquities, probably the most learned man of his generation, who wrote more than one hundred years ago, and with whom all specialists who have worked in that field ever since his time have been in substantial accord, says, in his "History of the Christian Church:"

"Such was the constitution of the Christian Church, in its infancy, when its assemblies were neither numerous nor splendid. Three or four Presbyters, men of remarkable piety and wisdom, ruled these small congregations in perfect harmony, nor did they stand in need of any president or superior to maintain concord and order where no dissensions were known. But the number of the Presbyters and Deacons increasing with that of the Churches, and the sacred work of the Ministry growing more painful and

weighty by a number of additional duties, these new circumstances required new regulations. It was then judged necessary that one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should preside in the council of Presbyters, in order to distribute among his colleagues their several tasks, and to be a center of unity to the whole society. This person was, at first, styled the Angel of the Church to which he belonged, but was afterwards distinguished by the name of Bishop, or inspector, a name borrowed from the Greek language and expressing the principal part of the Episcopal function which was to inspect into and superintend the affairs of the Church. It is highly probable that the Church of Jerusalem, grown considerably numerous and deprived of the ministry of the Apostles, who were gone to instruct the other nations, was the first which chose a President or Bishop. And it is no less probable that the other Churches followed by degrees such a respectable example.

“Let none, however, confound the Bishops of the primitive and golden period of the Church with those of whom we read in the following ages. For, though they were both distinguished by the same name yet they differed extremely, and that in many respects. A Bishop during the first and second century was a person who had the care of one Christian assembly, which, at that time, was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house. In this assembly he acted not so much with the authority of a master as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful servant. He instructed the people,

performed the several parts of Divine worship, attended the sick, and inspected into the circumstances and supplies of the poor. He charged, indeed, the Presbyters with the performance of those duties and services which the multiplicity of his engagements rendered it impossible for him to fulfill; but had not the power to decide or enact anything without the consent of the Presbyters and people. And, though the Episcopal office was both laborious, and singularly dangerous, yet its revenues were extremely small, since the Church had no certain income, but depended on the gifts, or oblations of the multitude, which were, no doubt, inconsiderable, and were, moreover, to be divided between the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and poor.

“The power and jurisdiction of the Bishops were not long confined to these narrow limits, but soon extended themselves, and that by the following means: The Bishops who lived in the cities, had, either by their own Ministry, or that of their Presbyters, erected new Churches in the neighboring towns and villages. These Churches continuing under the inspection and Ministry of the Bishops, by whose labors and counsels they had been engaged to embrace the Gospel, grew imperceptibly into ecclesiastical provinces, which the Greeks afterwards called dioceses. But as the Bishop of the city could not extend his labors and inspection to all these Churches in the country and in the villages, so he appointed certain suffragans, or deputies, to govern and to instruct these new societies, and they were distinguished by the title of chorepiscopi, that is,

Country Bishops. This order held the middle rank between Bishops and Presbyters, being inferior to the former and superior to the latter."

III.

In the following passage which I have collated from Professor Ramsay's monumental historical work, "The Church in the Roman Empire to A. D. 170," we have the showing of a most learned and candid Presbyterian author from which it appears on his great authority that the Historic Episcopate grew out of the need of the Asia Minor Churches for confederation in doing philanthropic work and in resisting persecution. Professor Ramsay says:

"Like the empire, the Church fully recognized the duty of the community to see that all its members were fed; and this was one of the earliest forms in which the question of practical organization began to press on it. (Acts vi.) Further organization was required when many communities existed in different lands, all considering themselves as a brotherhood.

"As it was completed in its main elements by A. D. 170, the organization of the Church may be described thus:

"1. Each individual community was ruled by a gradation of officials, at the head of which was the Bishop; and the Bishop represented the community.

" 2. All communities were parts of a unity, which was co-extensive with the Roman world. A name for this unity, the Universal Catholic Church, is first found in Ignatius, and the idea was familiar to a pagan writer like Celsus, perhaps 161-9 A. D.

" 3. Councils determined and expressed the common views of a number of communities.

" 4. Any law of the empire which conflicted with the principles of the Church must give way.

" 5. All laws of the Empire which were not in conflict with the religion of the Church were to be obeyed.

" In this completed organization the Bishops were established as the ruling heads of the several parts, divided in space but not in idea, which constituted the Church in the Roman world. The history of this organization is, to a great extent, the history of the Episcopal power. The Bishops soon became the directors of the Church as a party struggling against the Government.

" Such a vast organization of a perfectly new kind, with no analogy in previously existing institutions, was naturally slow in development. We regard the ideas underlying it as originating with Paul.

" The word *episkopos* means overseer. Originally, when the deliberative council of Elders resolved to perform some action, they would naturally direct one of their number to superintend it. This Presbyter was an *episkopos* for the occasion. Any Presbyter might be also an *episkopos*, and the terms were therefore applied to the same persons, and yet conveyed essentially different meanings.

The episkopos appointed to perform any duty was necessarily single, for the modern idea of a committee was unknown; any Presbyter might become an episkopos for an occasion, yet the latter term conveyed an idea of singleness and of executive authority which was wanting to the former. On the other hand, the idea of an order of episkopoi at this stage, like the order of Presbyters, is self-contradictory. The episkopos was necessarily single, and yet there might be many episkopi for distinct duties. Such appears to be the natural interpretation of the term, as it was used in ancient life.

“It was natural that proved aptness and power in an individual Presbyter should lead to his having executive duties frequently assigned to him. The Imperial idea was in the air; and the episkopos tended to become permanent, and to concentrate executive duties in his hands. The process was gradual, and no violent change took place. The authority of the episkopos was long a delegated authority, and his influence depended mainly on personal qualities.

“The scanty and unsatisfactory evidence of the first century points to the practical permanence of the episkopos as already usual, but is inconsistent with the idea that the episkopos was considered as separate in principle from his co-Presbyters (as he continued for centuries to term them). He was only a Presbyter on whom certain duties had been imposed. There was in practice one permanent episkopos in a community, when I Peter ii, 25 was written, and when the messages were sent to the angeloι of the

seven Asian Churches; but the episkopos was very far removed from the monarchical Bishop of A. D. 170, and we find not a trace to suggest that he exercised any authority *ex-officio* within the community.

“ We have seen that, before the end of the first century, there was, as a rule, an individual episkopos in each community, who tended in fact to be permanent, but who possessed no official rank except as a presbyteros. It may be argued that the account we have given of his position is inconsistent and self-contradictory. We acknowledge that this is so; but this does not prove it to be untrue. The office was in process of rapid growth, and no account of it can be true which makes it logical and self-consistent in character. It had vast potentiality, for the whole future of the Church was latent in it; yet, in its outward appearance and its relation to the past, it was humble, and the episkopos was merely a Presbyter in special circumstances. His actual influence depended on his personal character.

“ Christian communities, registered as *collegia tenuiorum*, and held property. The collegium had to be registered in the name of some individual, who acted as its head and representative, and who held the property that belonged to it. We can hardly doubt that the episkopos was the representative of the collegium, for he already acted as representative of the community in its relation to others. About 259 Gallienus granted to the Bishops the right to recover the cemeteries, which had been seized in the recent persecutions, and which had therefore been

registered in the name of the Bishops a considerable time previously. This being the case, the community would be unable to recover such property by ordinary legal process from the Bishop, if he were deposed or changed; for it could not appear before a court except through its Bishop. Permanence in the discharge of Episcopal duties was usual long before 130."

IV.

In the important departments of Pauline and Apostolic Patristic literatures, the late Bishop Lightfoot of Durham is the most renowned of all ecclesiastical antiquarians. That he believed Christianity to be essentially Republican and not Sacerdotal in its character is evident from the opening paragraph of his celebrated essay, "The Christian Ministry."

"The kingdom of Christ," says this great scholar, "not being a kingdom of this world, is not limited by the restrictions which fetter other societies, political or religious. It is in the fullest sense free, comprehensive, universal. It displays this character, not only in the acceptance of all comers who seek admission, irrespective of race or caste or sex, but also in the instruction and treatment of those who are already its members. It has no sacred days or seasons, no special sanctuaries, because every time and every place alike are holy. Above all, it has no Sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between

God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength."

It is true that Bishop Lightfoot, after making these sweeping statements, declared in effect that they were idealistic, and that in practical life the necessity of some modifications of them must be recognized. But it is equally true that he contends that the taking of idealism out of the Gospel of the God-Man would be to rob it of its most valuable practical content. No people can advance towards the mountain peaks of civilization except by making the difficult ascent by the way of idealism. If it be contended that practicalism, or utilitarianism is one of the most striking characteristics of our age, I reply that idealism is at once the basis and goal of all true practicalism.

The great Bishop of Durham realized this and so, after making such modifications of his thesis as the interests of utilitarianism required, he reiterated its Republican idealism in the boldest and strongest terms.

This, then, he wrote, "is the Christian ideal; a holy season extending the whole year round—a temple confined only by the limits of the habitable world—a priesthood co-extensive with the human race."

Elsewhere in his epoch-making essay in support of this thesis, Bishop Lightfoot says many such things as these: "The faculty of governing not less than the utterance

of prophecy, the gift of healing not less than the gift of tongues, is an inspiration of the Holy Ghost. But on the other hand, in both alike there is an entire silence about priestly functions; for the most exalted office in the Church, the highest gift of the Spirit, conveyed no Sacerdotal right which was not enjoyed by the humblest member of the Christian community."

"The Episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order by localization, but out of the presbyterial by elevation; and the title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be appropriated to the chief among them."

V.

One of the most brilliant among the expert authorities in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities is the German scholar and author, Paul Wernle, Professor Extraordinary of Modern Church History in the University of Basel. He occupies about the same place, as a writer in support of the evolutionary theory respecting the origin of the Christian church and institutions, as was occupied by the scintillating George John Romanes, as a writer in support of the evolutionary theory respecting the origin of the animal organism, including that of man. In Chapter ix, Volume I, of his truly wonderful work, entitled, "The Beginnings of Christianity," Professor Wernle, under the heading, "The Development of the Church," says:

“ Even in Jesus’ lifetime there was a Christian fellowship in the ideal sense of the word, the number of all those who recognized Him as the Lord, as their Head, and kept His commandments in their daily life. But there was no coherence, no organization. These followed only after Jesus’ death, under the impression produced by the appearances and under the guidance of the Apostles. We cannot fix any exact date, but we may look upon the return of the disciples to Jerusalem in expectation of the Second Advent of Jesus in the place where He died as the decisive occurrence.

“ The Christian church is the child of enthusiasm. The less likely we are to imagine this as we look at the Church to-day, the greater the importance of reminding ourselves of this fact. The Church originated in a hero worship—theologians call it faith—the truest and the purest that has ever been. It united all the worshippers indissolubly together and created the new forms quite of itself. They were the tokens of the same love. Jesus Himself and none other was the center of the new community, present in the veneration, the love, the enthusiasm, the faith of His disciples. The watchword of the brethren in its simplest form was just this: Jesus is the Lord—with Him through life or death into the kingdom of heaven; without Him we are lost. All the feelings of love and reverence for the nation, for the family, for friends, cherished in each individual soul, were now uprooted and transferred to Jesus and His followers. The saying of

Jesus, 'He that is not with Me is against Me,' was now fulfilled in all its practical consequences.

"All manifestations of anything extraordinary were reckoned the surest sign of a disciple; above all else the speaking with tongues. The impression made by the story of what Jesus did and of His appearance was so great that it often happened that not only believing disciples but strangers and newcomers who were present fell into an ecstatic condition as they listened—an indubitable sign that they were brethren, as God had vouchsafed the Spirit unto them.

"All this enthusiasm was crowned by the heroism of the martyrs. There is an early Christian hymn:

'Let them take our life,
Goods, honour, child and wife;
Let all these go.
Yet is the gain not theirs;
The kingdom still is ours.'

"These simple fishermen and artisans of Galilee surrendered their all, even their lives, and with a glad courage, that shrank not from death itself, set the seal upon their discipleship of Jesus. They translated Jesus' words into deeds and accounted death for nought. The first community of believers was welded together by the blood of the martyrs far more than by the speaking with tongues. But this was all the organization that existed thus far. He that spoke with tongues of Jesus, he that for His sake gave all his belongings to the poor and died for Him,

was His disciple; of that there can be no doubt. No outer sign was necessary.

“In the first period of its development Christianity existed as a sect or heresy. The metamorphosis from sect into Church was a very gradual process. Step by step the Christian sect separated itself from the Jewish church. By slow degrees it emerged from its obscurity into publicity. But it was only in the reign of Constantine that the transformation was completed. At first it was a sect, and nothing but a sect. No one thought of leaving the Jewish church. All shared in the public worship of the Church and were subject to the public discipline. But the community lived its own life hidden from the public gaze. The earliest services of the Christian church were secret conventicles, meetings in the house of a friend with closed doors.

“Their life as sectaries imparted a sectarian character to the outer forms current among the brotherhood. Every one free from suspicion was, it is true, allowed ready access to the meeting-place of the brethren. But admission to the brotherhood itself was only granted after the observance of due formalities. This was the place occupied by baptism. Baptism was no original Christian institution, but was borrowed from the disciples of John with one addition. By the utterance of the name of Jesus, a Christian character was imparted to the rite. We have no tradition as to the use of baptism in the earliest times.

“As yet no instruction preceded baptism. It was not necessary. The confession of faith in the Messiah was

so simple. But as a rule adults only were baptized. Had not Jesus promised children the kingdom of God without laying down any further condition? The baptized now shared in the meals of the brethren. The chief meal was always, or at least frequently, connected with the repetition of a portion of the account of the Last Supper.

“The Apostles, prophets and teachers, secured a certain amount of connection between the scattered congregations by their constant journeys from the one to the other. Wherever they appeared they stood in God’s stead. They conveyed the collections to their right destination, they fostered the brotherly love both of individuals and of Churches for each other, but they were always reckoned as the servants of the community, not as its masters.

“The foundation of the sect, however, brings about the first great change in the new religion. It can be traced in a certain increasing rigidity both without, where it assumes the shape of exclusiveness, and within, where it becomes legality. Between the brethren and those that are without, an impassable barrier has been set up by the institution of baptism and the profession of faith in the Messiah.

“The Lord’s Supper was celebrated with a scrupulous frequency, and finally exalted into a Sacrament founded by Jesus Himself. Perhaps, too, the example of Jesus legalized the idea of the reception into the Church by baptism. In the same way faith in the Messiah comes to be claimed as a dogma which must be believed. It is no

longer self-understood. In the long run, faith in an absent person can only be maintained by legal forms. Thus, then, this development of the sect implies at the same time a diminution of the first freshness, freedom, and originality, a gradual increase of that mere mechanical copying which belongs to the essence of a Church. The whole frame of mind altered. Mourning their Master, they began to fast again like the Pharisees and the disciples of John.

“And yet this sect, sharply defined against the world, and with the Gospel for law, was the necessary vessel for the eternal treasure of redemption in Jesus. This was the first body which the soul of Jesus took unto itself in order thence to begin the long journey out from these narrow borders into the wide world. All reverence to the Divine in this brotherhood. Here within this small compass lies hidden the life that is destined to give the world comfort and to inspire it with strength. These rude but strong characters, at enmity with the world, their expectant gaze turned towards the eternal mansions, are called to be the conquerors of the world.”

VI.

Professor Adolph Harnack, Rector of the University of Berlin, is by common consent the greatest all round authority among living historians. His special field is the

history of Christian dogma. I quote a short passage from an article of his in the Ninth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, because the work is so easily accessible. In that article Professor Harnack says:

“In so far as each local Church embraced a system of higher and lower functions, each was indeed a little world to itself. It possessed a governing body (stewards) for the care of the poor, for worship, for correspondence—in a word, for its ‘economy.’ In the widest sense of the word, the congregation needed controlling officials. These were the Bishops and the Deacons—the former for higher, the latter for inferior services; they owed their official position to the congregation, and in the nature of their offices there was, strictly speaking, nothing which could have laid the foundation of any special rank or exaltation.”

VII.

These citations from the great experts in the science of historical criticism to whom I appeal in support of the theory of the origin and authority of the Christian church and ministry upon which the Level Plan for Church Union is based have already exceeded the space reserved for them. They cannot be concluded, however, without a word from Professor Hatch's celebrated Bampton Lectures, “The Organization of the Early Christian Church,” a work to which Harnack attached such prime importance that he published a German edition of it in his

own translation with elaborate notes. These lectures appeared in 1881, some fifteen years after Bishop Lightfoot's essay, "The Christian Ministry." Though they constitute an entirely independent investigation of great scholastic originality and literary merit, yet they cover practically the same ground that is covered by the essay. The two great works should be read together in the order of their publication, for the Professor's lectures throw a flood of light on the Bishop's essay and *vice versa*. Professor Hatch says:

"The Episcopate grew by the force of circumstances, in the order of Providence, to satisfy a felt need. It is pertinent to add that this view as to the chief cause which operated to produce it has not the merit or demerit of novelty. Although the view must rest upon its own inherent probability as a complete explanation of the known facts of the case, it has the support of the earliest and greatest of ecclesiastical antiquaries. St. Jerome, arguing against the growing tendency to exalt the Diaconate at the expense of the Presbyterate, maintains that the Churches were originally governed by a plurality of Presbyters, but that in course of time one was elected to preside over the rest as a remedy against division, lest different Presbyters, having different views of doctrine, should, by each of them drawing a portion of the community to himself, cause divisions in it.

"The earliest theory of the relation of the Bishop to the community was, as we have already seen, that the Bishop stood in the place of the unseen Lord, entrusted

with the oversight of his Master's household until He should return from that far country into which He had gone. This view is found in the Ignatian Epistles, in the Clementines, and in the Apostolic Constitutions. In none of these cases is there any ambiguity of expression. The Bishop is in the place of God, or of Christ; the Presbyters are in the place of the Apostles. But gradually another theory interweaves itself with this and ultimately takes its place. It was a not unnatural inference from the belief that the Bishop was the custodian and conservator of apostolic teaching that he, rather than the Presbyters, took the Apostles' place. The Bishops had succeeded the Apostles in the presidency of the several Churches by what Firmilian calls an *ordinatic vicaria*—one officer being appointed in another's place, as governor succeeded governor in a Roman province, or as chancellor succeeds chancellor in our own university. When discipline as well as doctrine found its center in the Bishops, it began to be argued that they had succeeded not only to the seats which the Apostles had filled, but also to the powers which the Apostles possessed. It began to be urged that the powers, especially the power of 'binding and loosing,' which our Lord had conferred on the Apostles, were given to them personally or as constituting the Church of the time, but in a representative capacity as the first members of a long line of Church officers. Against an early assertion of this view, Tertullian raised a vigorous protest; nor did the view win its way to general acceptance until the time of the great Latin theologians of the fifth century.

It was a still later development of this view to maintain that the Bishops had also succeeded to the power of the Apostles in the conferring of spiritual gifts, and that through them, and through them exclusively, did it please the Holy Spirit to enter into the souls either of individual Christians in baptism, or of Church officers at ordination. This latest development, which has frequently been confounded with the earlier view, is found in its completest form on the threshold of the middle ages; it was received as a doctrine by the Council of Paris in A. D. 829; it forms the basis of several arguments in the pseudo-Isidorian decretals; it passed at length into the ordinals; and it still survives.

“ If we gather together all the words which, during the first two centuries, are used as collective terms for the officers of the Christian communities, we find that they agree in con-noting primarily the idea of presidency or leadership.

“ If we further gather together the abstract terms which are used, during the same period, for ecclesiastical office we find that, with the exception of diakonia, they exhibit the same phenomenon.

“ If, therefore, the primitive Christian communities were institutions which had entirely passed away, and we were examining their constitutions as a piece of ancient history, in the same manner as we examined the constitution of Athens or of Sparta, we should be led to the conclusion that the relation between the officers and the

rest of the community was primarily a relation of priority of order.

“ If we extend the sphere of our induction and look at not only the collective but also the particular terms for Church officers in the light of their contemporary use, we further find that none of them were peculiar to the Christian communities but that they were all common to them with contemporary organizations. Some of them were in use in the imperial administration, some of them in municipal corporations, some of them in voluntary associations.

“ If, therefore, we could exclude all ideas except those which appear simply upon the evidence, and deal with the facts of Christian organization as we should deal with the facts of any other organization, we should undoubtedly be led to the conclusion that not only the relation between Church officers and the rest of the community, was that of presidency or leadership, but that also the presidency or leadership was the same in kind as that of contemporary non-Christian societies.

“ The question before us may be thus stated: A presumption having been raised by the terms which were in use for Church office that the conception of such office was one of presidency or leadership, does the existing evidence warrant an inference that Church officers were regarded as possessing other powers than those which naturally attach to presidents and leaders of a community?

“ It will be convenient to take in detail the several functions which in later times have been regarded as the

special and peculiar functions of Church officers, and to inquire how far they were regarded as special and peculiar functions in the first two centuries.

“In regard to the function of teaching or preaching, it is clear from both the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul’s Epistles that ‘liberty of prophesying’ prevailed in the apostolic age. It is equally clear that liberty of prophesying existed after the apostolic age. The Apostolic Constitutions expressly contemplate the existence of preaching by laymen: ‘even if a teacher be a layman, still if he be skilled in the work and reverent in habit, let him teach; for the Scripture says they shall be all taught of God.’ ”

In the next paragraph Professor Hatch shows that the administration of Baptism by laymen was held to be valid. In regard to the Eucharist, he says: “The only explicit evidence is that of the Ignatian Epistles.” And he then proceeds to show from these epistles that it was the custom for laymen, in the absence of a Church officer, to celebrate the Eucharist and that such celebrations were by the people, held to be valid.

The author then shows that the power of discipline even to the extent of removing its own officers was exercised by the congregation. And concludes as follows:

“Whether therefore we look at Preaching, at Baptism, at the Eucharist, or at Discipline, it seems probable that the officers were not conceived as having, as such, exclusive powers. In other words, the existing evidence

in regard to the functions of Church officers so far from establishing, tends to disprove the existence of any conception of the nature of their office, other than that which is gathered from the terms which were in use to designate such office. It supports the hypothesis that they existed in the Christian societies, as those who bore the same names existed in secular societies, for the general superintendence of the community and the general control of its affairs, that all things might be done decently and in order."

It is sometimes asserted that the general trend of modern scholarship has been of late years away from Bishop Lightfoot's position towards that of the Sacerdotalists or Romanizers. In reply to this representation it may be observed that among all those who have written from first hand knowledge since his time, Professors Harnack and Ramsay are by common consent the greatest authorities. They not only occupy Bishop Lightfoot's position, but have fortified it with the published results of their independent investigations, until the assertion may be made, in the greatest confidence, that it will forever remain secure against all attacks of Sacerdotalists.

But, it will be asked, Though there may be no recognized historical basis, what about that furnished by Catholic tradition? My reply is that our interest is in historical facts, not in traditional assumptions. Bishop Gore, upon whom Sacerdotalists rely so confidently, does indeed make a wonderful showing as to the support given to

Sacerdotalism from A. D. 150 down to the Reformation. But now-a-days people do not go to tradition, when they may turn to reliable documents; or grope around in dark tunnels with the dim and flickering light afforded by the candle of tradition, when they may as well have the much brighter and more certain illumination of historical facts.

If we take our stand on the facts and logical deductions of ecclesiastical history, it will appear that the Diocesan or Historic Episcopate possesses nothing which was not originally derived from the Congregational Episcopate. As for the Congregational Episcopate, it will be seen that it possesses nothing which was not originally derived from the Presbyterate. And as to the Presbyterate, it will be evident that originally it was very slightly if at all differentiated from that Ministry which is co-extensive with organic Christianity, the ordination to which is baptism; so that it owed its existence wholly to the recognition by the people of natural spiritual gifts.

Let me most respectfully but earnestly advise those who are still appealing to tradition to read what even Roman modernists are saying. Here is a sample passage from the pen of one of them:

“The traditional apologists have been wont to view the Church as an institution leading a life apart from the surrounding social and political world, growing and shaping itself according to peculiar laws of development, whose largely miraculous character forbids their verification. This ancient conception of the Church as the work

of the Logos, and as a domain closed to the influence of those which govern the growth of human societies, having once obtained footing in the great historical construction of Eusebius, has for long ages been the postulate of all Catholic ecclesiastical history.

“A prepossession of this kind, joined with the notion of revelation as being, before all, a communication of unchangeable abstract propositions led to another assumption, namely, that the dogmatic affirmations, which gradually became part of the inherited intellectual explanation of faith, as well as the external forms progressively assumed by the ecclesiastical organization, existed, at least implicitly, from the very beginning of the preaching of Jesus, in the faith of the first Christians, and in the teaching of the Fathers.

“Historical criticism has purged our minds inexorably of these prepossessions.

“This Church which lay beyond the horizon of Christ’s outlook, bounded by the Parousia, grew up naturally among His followers and quickly passed from the charismatic hierarchy of His first days, arranged according to personal graces and gifts of the Spirit, to the official and monarchic hierarchy arranged according to measures of jurisdiction and sacramental power.

“Finally, as regards the organization of the Christian communities, they had come by the beginning of the second century to adopt the monarchic Episcopate as the result of taking over certain offices and titles, partly from

the synagogue, partly from the Hellenistic confraternities and societies.

“The Church should feel a sort of nostalgia, a yearning towards her own past, in regard to these, as yet unconsciously religious currents of thought and sentiment which are the life-blood of the rising democracy. She should find some way of mingling with this world-movement in order to ensure its true success by means of the strength of her restraints and the stimulus of her moral authority, which alone can bring home the lessons of self-denial and altruism to the multitudes. She should frankly recognize that democracy paves the way to what is precisely the highest expression of her Catholicism. When she does so, then democracy will begin to yearn after the Church which continues that Gospel-message wherein democracy finds its own remote but authentic origin.” *The Programme of Modernism and the Encyclical of Pius X*, pp. 74, 81, 84, 128.

IV.

GRACE OF SACRAMENTS.

I.

THE SACRAMENTS have always been the storm center of the controversy that has raged between Sacerdotal Catholics and Republican Protestants. Drs. Gore, Hall and Moberly cannot be fully answered,

nor can the Level Plan for Church Union be defended without a justification of the Protestant doctrine concerning the Sacraments.

There are two points from which a Sacrament may and should be viewed. From one of them it is seen that it has an effect upon the grace with which it is concerned, an effect exactly analogous to that of a sermon which has in view the stirring up of the same grace. A Sacrament is then a dramatized sermon. From the other view point, it is seen that a Sacrament is a dramatized prayer to God for the promotion of the grace with which the Sacrament is concerned.

In the discussion of the supernatural in the Sacraments it is important to note that the supernatural is never the unnatural. The Sacerdotal theory of Sacramental grace seems to me to invest the Sacraments and their administrators with a supernaturalness which is unnatural, if not superstitious.

I do not deny the supernatural in the Sacraments; but insist upon a supernaturalness which is entirely congruous with the natural, and which is free from every vestige of Sacerdotal superstition.

Christian sacraments are supernatural but not more so than Christian sermons or prayers. The administrator of a Sacrament performs no more of a miracle than that which is performed by one who effectively preaches or prays.

In my efforts to arrive at the truth respecting Christian doctrine, I am, of late years, more and more, proceed-

ing upon the assumption that there are very few basic principles to be reckoned with. God has made much out of little. The miracle of the loaves and fishes runs all through things as we know them. I do not presume to speak for other Protestants, but for myself I want to re-iterate that, according to my conviction, the sacramental principle is the same as the preaching principle, and also that the preaching is identical with the prayer principle. If I am right in this conclusion, a Sacrament is at once both a sermon and a prayer dramatized. But preaching and praying in any form cannot, on Gospel grounds, be limited to a Sacerdotal, Priestly, Ministerial, Caste.

I would not be understood as placing the Sacraments on the same level with ordinary sermons or prayers. A Sacrament may be more effective than a sermon or a prayer in inspiring good desires, determinations and efforts: not, however, as Sacerdotalists teach, because of any supernaturalness in it or its administrator, but because of the same underlying reason that the compositions of Shakespeare are more effective when dramatized than when simply read or recited.

The dramatic principle explains the almost universal prevalence of Baptism by immersion in primitive times and its wide persistence to our own day. Baptism by immersion is much more of a drama than is Baptism by sprinkling or pouring. The Lord's Supper was often dramatized in the primitive Church. Christ was impersonated by the chairman or president of the college of Presbyters, which college, in places where this was done, usually

numbered thirteen. The other twelve Presbyters impersonated the Apostles.

If we could go deep enough we would, I think, see the principle of preaching and the principle of praying to be one and the same principle in different relationships. Even on the surface it is perfectly evident that if there be two principles they run quite parallel much of the way.

The indispensable importance of the principle of preaching and praying to the Sacraments appears from our own incomparable Services for the administration of the two great Sacraments and the several sacramental ordinances. If the elements of praying and preaching were eliminated from them, there would be almost nothing left. This is especially true of the element of prayer which all admit to be a universal, not alone a Priestly, prerogative. Or, to state the same truth in another form, prayer proves the universality of the Christian priesthood. According to the true Protestant doctrine, as I understand it, every Christian is actually and every human being is potentially a Priest.

Of course if the Sacerdotal theory were true, the entire elimination of the preaching and prayer elements from the offices for the administration of the Sacraments would leave to them all that is absolutely essential. On this theory, the Priestly miracle-working declaration on behalf of Christ, upon which, for example, in the case of the Lord's Supper, is supposed to depend the conversion of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, is the essential thing. According to this theory,

we would also have as the result of this declaration, in some real and literal sense, the miracle of the repetition of the Sacrifice on the Cross; and furthermore, a repetition or extension of the miracle of the Incarnation.

I think that to admit that a Sacrament conveys grace of essentially another kind, or in essentially another way than that which is conveyed by preaching and praying, is the admission of the Sacerdotal principle as held by the Roman and Greek Churches.

This contention is not novel, for our Church teaches that, under certain conditions, the benefits of the Lord's Supper may be received by any Christian as the result of his own prayer, quite as really and effectively as if the Sacrament were administered by one of our Presbyters or Bishops.

Dr. C. B. Wilmer in his excellent pamphlet entitled, "The Protestant Episcopal Church and the Present Crisis," refers to a remarkable article by the Bishop of Vermont in *The Living Church*, for December 4, 1909, on the Priesthood, in which he brings out the true idea of the Sacrament as a blessing imparted in answer to prayer.

II.

The insistence upon the "Catholic" or Sacerdotal doctrine of Apostolic Succession in connection with the Historic Episcopate, in such a way as to make that institution the seed of the Church, and necessary to its exist-

ence and historical continuity, is based on the idea that the Christian religion is supernatural in character; and more particularly, upon the persuasion that this supernaturalness is manifested through the Sacraments, only when they are administered by Bishops or Priests who have received ordination from representatives of this Historic Episcopate.

God forbid that I should deny that the Christian religion is supernatural. I insist, however, that it is supernatural because of the Incarnation, not because of its Ministry or Sacraments, or even because of its Scriptures. In order to connect the supernatural with our religion, there is no need of associating it with that to which it does not inherently belong. The Ministry and the Sacraments of the Christian religion contribute to the development in the Christian of the supernatural life, but the supernatural goes back of the Ministry for its origin to the Incarnation of the Son of God.

The Ministry and the Sacraments then bear a relationship to the development of the supernatural life of a Christian, analogous to the relationship which is borne by the sower and the soil, and by the rain and the sunshine, to the seed from which the harvest is expected. The ripened harvest is the result of a developed supernatural life. The supernatural is not in the sower, or the soil, nor yet in the rain or the sunshine. The supernatural is in the seed. The supernaturalness of the seed is life, a life which is capable, in the case of each grain, of yielding, under the most favorable circumstances, a hundred-fold,

but under other conditions less, some sixty, some only thirty.

As the farmer is necessary because, if there is to be a harvest, the seed must be brought into contact with the soil and be guarded and cultivated, so the Christian ministry is necessary because men, women and children, upon whom has been bestowed the supernatural seed of the Incarnate life, must be brought into the Church, the Garden of the Lord, and must be protected and cultivated. As there is nothing supernatural about the farmer, as such, so there is nothing supernatural about a Christian minister, as such. In both cases, they are only Providential agents, by which a supernatural life, existing quite independently of them, is made to yield a harvest of its kind.

It is the same with the Christian sacraments. They are, by Christ's ordinance, means of grace, without which the Divine life, with which the human soul has been endowed by the Incarnation, can not, speaking generally, bring forth a full harvest of righteousness. Their effect upon the Christ life no more entitles them to be regarded as supernatural instrumentalities in the Sacerdotal sense than the effect of the rain and the sunshine upon vegetable life, entitles these to be regarded as supernatural instrumentalities. Vegetable life is Divine, because God made it so by the nature which He gave it. Human, spiritual life is Divine, in an infinitely higher and more personal sense, because God took human nature upon Himself, and thus supernaturalized it. But there is nothing extraordinarily supernatural about the instrumentali-

ties which have to do with making the most of either vegetable or human life.

In a private letter a friend who looks at the subject of supernaturalism in connection with the Christian sacraments from very much the same point of view that I have taken asks with much pertinency:

“Why attempt to limit the supernatural by saying, ‘Lo here,’ and ‘Lo there.’ Is not the supernatural **every-**where conterminous with the natural? Is the natural at any point understandable apart from the supernatural? In other words, does nature at any point get away from God? Of course, the Christian ministry is supernatural, but how supremely absurd to make its supernaturalness depend upon tactual succession. Your Catholic critics mean by supernatural, magical. A spiritually helpful act or word, which is not supernatural is to me inconceivable.”

I am convinced that my friend has here given expression to a great truth. Those who are of our way of thinking do not deny that the benefits received by the faithful recipients of the Christian sacraments are very many and inestimably great, and also that the efficacy of some, if not all, among such benefits is of a highly supernatural character. Nevertheless, we insist that the supernatural element in the Sacraments is, to speak paradoxically, a natural supernaturalness; and that in this age of scientific naturalism which has succeeded and completely supplanted the Mediæval age of superstitious supernaturalism there is simply no use in making any other doctrine concerning the supernatural in anything appertaining to

religion, a plank in a platform upon which it is hoped to secure the organic unification of Christendom.

We have seen that the basic social institution upon which the whole superstructure of civilization rests is the family. The analogy between the Family and State and Church is so clear that any one can see it, and so indisputable that none will call it in question. So far as it concerns the Church, the great St. Paul saw this striking analogy and impressively commented upon it. We have seen also that the family is a Republican institution, as is evident from the fact that it is based upon the mutual consent of the man and woman who unite in marriage to constitute it.

As the family is by common consent the greatest of all institutions which go to make the social realm what it is, being the foundation upon which the whole superstructure rests, it should not be hard to gain consent to the assertion that the Sacramental ordinance or ceremony or rite upon which its very existence is dependent is one of the greatest of Sacraments.

And, furthermore, since the Sacrament of marriage was the first to be instituted and the State, and the Church, and, in short, everything connected with the temporal welfare of the human race, ultimately hinges upon it, this being absolutely true of all that goes to make for the creation and development of civilization, it must be admitted that if it is lacking in unnatural supernaturalness, the Sacerdotalist must be wrong in attributing such a supernaturalness to any other Sacrament whatsoever.

In the family, the husband and wife are King and Queen, Priest and Priestess in the highest sense of the terms, in a much higher sense than any man or woman has ever been King or Priest, Queen or Priestess in a State or Church. Their coronation to this kingship and queenship and their ordination to this priesthood and priestesshood took place when they received the Sacrament of marriage.

Surely no one will claim that the coronation of a King or the ordination of a Priest means more to the civil or religious parts of the social realm, than does marriage to the domestic portion of that realm, and all agree that the domestic department of the social realm is, so to speak, the rock upon which both the civil and religious realms are built. Or, to change the figure, the domestic department of the social realm is the soil from which the civil and religious departments of that realm grow.

It would therefore be illogical to make more or even as much of a coronation or ordination ceremony as of the marriage ceremony or Sacrament. Sacerdotalists give to ordination the rank of a Sacrament. If they are right in so doing as I believe they are, I certainly am right in giving, with them, the same rank to matrimony. I contend that there is no ground upon which more can rightly be made of the Sacrament of ordination than of the Sacrament of marriage, and indeed that the latter is the greater Sacrament.

What does the Sacrament of marriage do for its recipients? Does it give them an inherent capability corres-

ponding to what Sacerdotalists characterize as the grace of ordination which capability they would not and could not possess but for the Sacrament? The Sacrament of marriage gives to those receiving it a legal and religious ratification and sanction of the relationship of husband and wife into which the man and the woman of their own volition and by their own promises and vows enter. No one will question that the grace of the Sacrament of marriage is the change of relationship which makes the man a lawful husband and the woman a lawful wife.

Now, I claim that apart from the benefit derived by the recipient of a Sacrament as the result of intercessory prayer, a change of relationship is all the benefit that results from any Sacrament, and that this benefit is so great as to abundantly justify the institution and observance of all among the great sacramental ordinances.

And, continuing to speak of marriage, this change of relationship is brought about and established as securely, effectively, and, therefore as validly, whether the marriage is solemnized by a Priest of the Greek, Roman or Anglican Church, or by a Justice of the Peace. Thus, according to the laws of our country, there is at least one Sacrament that can be validly administered by a layman, even though he be neither Christian nor Jew.

Nor is this all about the Sacrament of marriage which makes against the Sacerdotal position. Even when a Priest or Bishop of the Church, instead of an officer of the State, presides at the Service, he does not, strictly speaking, celebrate or administer the Sacrament. In reality

that is done by the man and woman about to enter into the holy estate of matrimony for themselves. For the climax of the ceremonial occurs where it is declared by the man that he takes the woman as his wedded wife and by the woman that she takes the man as her wedded husband. These words are the essential part of the Sacrament. In that reciprocal declaration the Sacrament of marriage is celebrated; for when it has been made, even if the service were then to abruptly close, the participants in the Sacrament would, in the eyes of all men, be man and wife.

It appears, then, that in the celebration of the exceedingly important Sacrament of marriage, a Sacrament which constitutes the very basis of civilization, the man acts as his own Priest and the woman as her own Priestess. All that the ministerial representative of the Church or State does is to make public, official announcement that the Sacrament has been performed, the marriage has taken place, and this announcement is to the effect that the man and woman especially concerned have changed their relationship each to the other.

Now, in the Sacrament of marriage, we have, so to speak, a mirror in which may be seen that which occurs in all Sacraments, and we see four things: (1) that the grace of Sacraments is a change of relationship; (2) that in all Sacraments the recipient is really his own Priest and that without the exercise of his Priesthood the Sacrament, so far as he is personally concerned, would be neither regular nor valid; (3) that, quite contrary to the Sacerdotal theory, the Minister who presides over and conducts

a sacramental ceremonial is just what the word Minister denotes, not the person upon whose acts the accomplishment of the thing in hand is actually dependent, that is to say, he is not really the Priest, but only the Minister, or acolyte, or server of the real Priest who is the recipient of the Sacrament, and upon whose faith and repentance the efficacy of the Sacrament depends; and (4) that so far as the validity and regularity of the Sacraments are concerned, it is a matter of indifference whether this Minister has received ordination to the official Ministry of a Church, or whether he is a Layman; and that the desirability of ministerial officialism, and of confining ministerial acts to it is quite another question than the one with which we are here especially concerned, a question, the right answer to which is of essentially the same import, whether given by State or Church, having to do with the organic unity and efficiency of the State or Church, not with the validity or regularity of Sacraments, much less with their efficacy.

But the truth which I am anxious to enforce here is, that the all sufficient explanation of the Sacrament of ordination like that of the Sacrament of marriage and indeed of all Sacraments is found in a change of relationship on the part of the person receiving the Sacrament.

A candidate for the Christian ministry, in any Church, Ancient or Modern, Sacerdotal or Republican, receives no new power by the laying on of hands in ordination, but he does thereby receive an official position which gives regularity to the exercise of his ministerial capabilities. In

the Sacraments of both marriage and ordination the grace is that of a legal relationship not the gift of a character or of capabilities which would not otherwise be possessed.

Of course there is the element of prayer connected with all Sacraments and sacramental ordinances which must not be lost sight of. But no one will contend, not even the most advanced Sacerdotalist, that all the prayers or even the most efficacious among them, are necessarily offered by the Clergyman at a marriage or ordination. Indeed prayer can be regarded as a Priestly act by those only who hold to the doctrine of the lay Priesthood.

Sacerdotalists contend that to regard ordination as only a means of admitting its recipient to an office in the Christian ministry, and of securing to his official acts the character of regularity, instead of looking upon it as a means through which the ordinand is given some gift or grace which inherently differentiates him from those who have not been ordained, a gift of grace which carries with it capabilities which could not be secured without the Sacrament, is to open the door for a low view of sacramental rites and to degrade them to a formal ceremony.

In raising this objection to the Republican or Protestant doctrine of ordination, Sacerdotalists do not sufficiently bear in mind the immense importance of the giving of a license by constituted authority for the performance of acts of public concern or the importance of the regular performance of such acts under such license.

Even the most extreme Sacerdotalist would not main-

tain that the Sacrament of marriage endows its participants with the capability of obeying God's command to men and women to populate the earth. For it is the assumed existence of this capability and the necessity for the regulation of its exercise that accounts for the institution of marriage. The Sacrament does not give to its recipients any grace or power, with which it is concerned, that is not already possessed, but it does give sanction and regularity to the exercise of an existing grace or potentiality. The whole physical universe, as we know it, first took its form out of chaos, has ever since been sustained, and is now being developed as the result of regularity. The development, stability and progress of every part of the spiritual universe is likewise dependent upon regularity. Without regularity everything, physical and spiritual would go to pieces.

Since, then, regularity is so transcendently important, and since, so far as Churches and States are concerned, so much of their coherency, efficiency and development depend upon regularity in its official ministries, and, moreover, since regularity in the Ministry of a Church hinges upon ordination, why should Sacerdotalists try to make this Sacrament out to be more than it is naturally by the very constitution of the social order of things?

What is needed by the Churches of each country is a Common Inter-Church Ministry which will be as regular to the organic Christianity of a nation as the distinctive Denominational Ministries are in the Churches to which they respectively belong. The problem of Christian

unity is the problem of how to convert sectarian regularity into inter-sectarian or national Catholic regularity.

Under present conditions the Ministry of any one Church is as regular and the ministrations of its representatives are as valid as are those of any other Church. The recognition and admission of this fact constitutes an indispensable plank in the platform which is to afford the basis for Church union.

III.

The benefits of baptism are regeneration and the forgiveness of sins. These benefits are results of a natural change of relationship. They are not due to the infusion of a new spiritual life.

The grace with which Baptism is concerned is spiritual life and it is in the possession of all men, women and children whether they are baptized or not. The human race as a whole is endowed with spiritual life as an universal result of the Incarnation. Baptism changes the Christ life of the recipient of the Sacrament from a place outside the Church to one inside of it. This change is regeneration, and the living of the regenerated life involves the comfortable assurance of the forgiveness of sins.

The benefits of the Holy Communion can be rationally accounted for only upon the theory of change of relation-

ship not upon an infusion of grace. These benefits cannot be satisfactorily explained to the rational mind apart from social relationship, but its mission is not so much to create as to sustain this relationship. This Sacrament bears very much the relationship to the Divine life in man that food does to the body. It does not give life any more than food gives life, but it sustains and develops spiritual life even as food sustains and develops physical life.

What is it to feed upon Christ in the Holy Eucharist, so that our souls are strengthened by the Sacrament, as our bodies are by the bread and wine? It is, I answer, a real partaking, by an act of our own faith, without regard to any mediatorial Ministry, of the Divine virtue and power of Christ, sacramentally symbolized and pledged in the Lord's Supper. What the breaking of bread is to the social life, the Sacrament of Christ's broken Body and shed Blood is, in an intensified degree, to our religious life.

If we want to get at the core of the matter respecting the Lord's Supper, we must do two things: (1) we must emphasize the importance of our direct partaking of Christ, and (2) we must emphasize the necessity of eating and drinking together in the highest degree of earthly and heavenly communion. Communion is the basis of social life, and eating and drinking together is generally associated with the highest degree of social communion.

It is the direct participation of and communion with the Divine Christ which raises the religious table of our Heavenly Friend above the tables of our human friends.

Both are communion tables in the same sense; but the communion of the one is predominantly social, while the other is pre-eminently religious. The communion of both tables is a great source of refreshment and strength. But this is tenfold, yes, a thousandfold more true of the table of our Divine Friend, than of our earthly friend; for if we have the right conception of it, we realize that there we actually partake of the real Bread of Life, even the spiritual substance of His Body and Blood.

But it will be asked: If the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is spiritual and if the Sacrament has its supernatural accomplishment in the heart of the faithful communicant rather than in the bread and wine, what is there in the Lord's Supper to excite to the thanksgiving, adoration and reverence for which the Church provides in the matchless Liturgy by which it is celebrated? I reply that a sufficient incentive for all the thanksgiving, adoration and reverence which the human heart can feel or tongue and body can express, is found in the fact that the bread and wine are memorials established by Himself of the sacrifice and suffering of the Son of God on our behalf, and not only are they memorials of this wonderful mercy and grace, but further than this, they are the means by which He has chosen to symbolize and pledge His presence, His power and His virtue in us.

If we only sufficiently apprehended the realities that the Sacramental bread and wine symbolically represent to the world and are to the worthy recipient, we could find

no words of thanksgiving or postures of adoration, that would sufficiently express the feelings of our hearts.

IV.

The unification of Protestantism and indeed of Christendom must be regarded as an utter and altogether hopeless impossibility upon the Sacerdotal theory that the Christian ministry is a devolution from the Lord Jesus and His first Apostles and not, according to the Republican theory, an evolution from the people; and that Sacramental ordinances, such as Baptism and the Holy Communion, Confirmation and Ordination, infuse any grace into their recipients. It is all right to speak of the grace of Sacraments, if we mean the comforting and helpful assurance of the possession of that which already exists quite independently of them; or if we mean the strengthening which comes from them as the result of obedience and prayer; but it is all wrong to speak of the grace of the Sacraments if we mean that through them a Priest, as a channel or custodian of God's grace, conveys any spiritual endowment which is necessary to salvation that otherwise could not be possessed.

I will be reminded that there must be something in the sap of this Republican tree of the Lord's planting which is most congenial to Sacerdotalism and Imperialism, or else they could not have flourished so luxuriously as grafts upon it. But the phenomenon of different kinds of

fruits growing upon the same tree is not peculiar to institutional Christianity.

A graft from a sour apple tree will flourish and bear fruit of its kind on a sweet apple tree, quite as much, generally even more, than if it had remained in its native tree. The fact that the ministerial caste systems of the Jewish and Heathen religious trees flourished upon the tree of the Christian religion is therefore no proof that the true and proper nature or character of Christianity is not Republican rather than Imperial.

The only thing that it can be held to prove is that God in His all-wise Providence saw it to be for the time being good for the world that cuttings from the Imperial religious trees which He had allowed His Jewish and Gentile children to plant and cultivate, should be grafted into the Republican religious tree which He had given to His Christian children. But the character of a tree is not changed by grafting. Even if every limb of a sweet apple tree were to be grafted with a cutting from sour apple trees, the tree in its roots and stem would remain a sweet apple tree and every limb that grew out below a graft would bear sweet apples.

It must be admitted that, speaking broadly, from the time of Constantine to Luther, nearly twelve hundred years, the cuttings from the trees of Jewish and Gentile Imperialism were more and more grafted into the tree of Christian Republicanism, until it must have seemed that its very nature had been changed in its root and trunk, as well as in its branches. No wonder then that such

powerful writers as Gore, Moberly and Hall in their efforts to commend the Sacerdotal or Priestly theory of the origin and authority of the Christian ministry, are able to make a showing that is well calculated to deceive and persuade even the very elect among those who stand for true, primitive Republican Christianity.

But, ask Sacerdotalists, as if it were a complete refutation of the Protestant doctrine concerning the Christian sacraments and ministry, How can it be consistently held that Sacraments which are only material symbols of subjective spiritual realities, and not at all material vehicles of objective realities, depending upon the incident of their proper reception instead of upon their due administration for validity and efficiency, make good a title to recognition as being of any essential value?

This objection to the sacramental doctrine of Protestantism is in substance raised by Pope Pius X, in his Encyclical against the tenents of a powerful school known as the "Modernists," which has happily risen within the Roman Church, and, to all appearance, is destined to gather force until it has worked a mighty reformation or revolution in that Church by the protestantization of her doctrines and the republicanization of her government. The objection is answered by a passage in an anonymous book, in which the Modernists defend themselves against the charges of the Encyclical. This book is entitled, "The Program of Modernism and Encyclical of Pius X." It was published in 1908 and is, all things considered, perhaps the most notable and consequential

contribution to the science of theology from a Roman source that has appeared within twenty-five years. It undoubtedly strikes the most powerful blow that Romanism, and indeed Sacerdotalism as a whole, has received from its own sons since the publication of the memorable Protest of Professors Doellinger and Hefele against the proposal to crystallize the theory of Papal infallibility into an article of the Roman faith. The passage which is to our purpose reads:

“Subjectivism and symbolism can no longer be reproaches. The latest criticism of the various knowledge-theories point to everything in the realm of knowledge, the laws of science and the theories of metaphysics, as being subjective and symbolic. But this does not hinder every such creation of the human spirit in the various departments of its activity from having an absolute value. Also the world constructed by faith has its life-giving value, and is therefore something absolute in its own kind. As for symbolism, a symbol no longer means a fictitious, and perhaps fraudulent, substitution connected with ignorant or erroneous beliefs. It too is a reality of its own peculiar kind, whereon faith confers an inestimable value, by which it becomes the real vehicle and beneficent occasion of an uplifting of the spirit and of a deeper religious insight. And since our own life is, for each one of us, something absolute, nay, the only absolute of our direct experience, all that proceeds from it and returns to it, all that feeds it and expands it more fruitfully, has, in like manner, the value of something absolute. The

point of the Encyclical's reproach is therefore blunted in these days."

When I laid down the book from which this passage is quoted, it was with the thankful feeling that we have the beginning of the end of Sacerdotalism, even in the Roman Church where it is the most thoroughly entrenched.

Now and then I have been accused of not being a true Anglican; but I humbly venture to claim that any impartial effort to arrive at the concensus of opinion among us will show that out of every ten, nine will agree with the representation that I am here making rather than with that of the Rev. Archibald C. Knowles of St. Alban's Church, Olney, Pa., who in a recently published pamphlet entitled, "Church Unity," says:

"Not even the most spiritual worship of the Protestant Bodies can be compared to even the most perfunctory presence of Romanists at a Mass mechanically rendered; for the Romanist at least worships in the Sacramental Presence of the Lord of Glory. To quote an ancient saying, 'It is the Mass that matters.'"

I am quite willing to admit that in the Church of the Future, in some way, I do not undertake to say just how, room must be made for even "Catholics," who talk like this; but I cannot concede that their doctrine will constitute any part of the basis upon which the Protestant Churches will come together; or that such doctrine is widely held in the Churches which constitute the Anglican Communion. I doubt whether all who adhere to it would constitute one good sized Diocese, and I am mor-

ally certain that if all Anglicans who are of this way of thinking were to be gathered into one Diocese, it would contain more youthful "Catholic Priests" than "Catholic Laymen;" for in the Anglican Communion the virulent type of "Catholicism" with which this "Catholic" is so sorely afflicted is a disease which happily is generally confined to the Clergy and women. The laymen who are infected by it are few and far between; and, doubtless there are fewer of them now than there were ten years ago.

The night of Sacerdotalism with its superstition, tyranny, and sectarianism, is giving place to the day of Republicanism, with its science, freedom and concord. It is at the noon-tide of this day that may be expected the Second Coming of the Divine Republican to usher in the glories of the Millenium with its one folding and one shepherding. "Surely I come quickly, Amen. Even so come Lord Jesus." Amen. Amen.

APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES.

“UNITY IS THAT ONENESS IN THE VISIBLE BODY OF CHRIST THAT MAKES MEN KNOW AND BELIEVE. IT IS WELL FOR US TO REMEMBER THAT THE GREATEST TRIUMPHS THAT THE CHRISTIAN WORLD HAS EVER WON WERE IN THE DAYS WHEN THE CHURCH WAS ONE. IT IS WELL FOR US TO REMEMBER THAT THE GREATEST TRIUMPHS THAT CHRISTIANITY HAS EVER WON WERE WON, SHALL I SAY, BEFORE THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES WERE WRITTEN, OR THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OR THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION? AND THE GREATEST TRIUMPHS THAT CHRISTIANITY IS GOING TO WIN WILL BE THE TRIUMPHS OF A UNITED CHRISTIAN DISCIPLESHIP. NOBODY IS ASKING ANYBODY TO GIVE UP ANYTHING THAT IS OF VALUE. WE CAN GIVE UP PRIDE; WE CAN GIVE UP OUR ECCLESIASTICAL CONCEIT; WE CAN GIVE UP OUR DENOMINATIONAL JEALOUSIES; WE CAN GIVE UP OUR INHERITED PREJUDICES; AND PERHAPS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, WE CAN GIVE UP SOME OF OUR IGNORANCE. I LAY THIS DOWN, BRETHREN, AS A PROPOSITION THAT HAS ALREADY DEMONSTRATED ITSELF; CHRIST-LIKE CHRISTIANS CANNOT STAY APART. THERE IS MORE UNITY THAN WE THINK. THE THINGS THAT SEPARATE CHRISTIANS ARE INCONSEQUENTIAL IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE THAT SEPARATE CHRISTIANS FROM NON-CHRISTIANS. CHRIST IS FOR THE WHOLE WORLD AND THE WHOLE WORLD FOR CHRIST. AND AS A MEANS TO THAT END LET US ALL BE PROPHETS OF UNITY, PRIESTS OF UNITY, APOSTLES OF UNITY. WE CAN DO THAT MUCH AT ANY RATE. WE CAN SAY OF UNITY AS WE SAY OF UNIVERSALITY; WE CAN IF WE WILL; WE CAN AND WE WILL.”

—*From the opening address to the National Missionary Congress in Chicago, May 3-6, 1910, by the Rt. Rev. Charles P. Anderson, D. D., Bishop of Chicago.*

READER, things cannot go on as they are. Sectarianism in this country, and throughout the world, is in great peril of becoming the most conspicuous and melancholy of all illustrations of the truth of the proverb, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." A distinguished metropolitan Presbyterian Pastor, in a single phrase of a notable letter with which he favored me expressed many volumes, when, in speaking of the necessity of unity on the part of the Protestant Churches of our country, he wrote, "We must get together or go to the wall."

I have given you my vision of the way in which we can "get together," the way of a Level Common, Inter-Church Ministry of the Episcopal type.

It is a dream! Yes, but it is not an hallucination; for it is an expression of the fundamental fact that institutionalism in any form, domestic, civil, ecclesiastical, social or commercial, cannot be created, sustained, or developed, except along the lines of the great underlying, indispensable principle of unity and superintendence, under one headship.

It is idealism! Yes. But I hope that I have shown that it is idealism having a rational and historical basis, and that therefore my plan for unity through a Common Ministry will not be rejected on this account. A consistent Christian will be about the last to condemn an undertaking having great ends in view simply because it is stupendously magnitudinous and cannot be consummated at once; or because it is without distinguished advocates. Is it not true that there is a great deal of idealism in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, even in the most practical parts of it, such as the Sermon on the Mount, the Summary of the Ten Commandments, and the Prayer which was given to the Disciples? Were not the first Apostles of Christianity chiefly fishermen? "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Fishermen, "Go ye and make disciples of all nations." What astonishing idealism!

It is theoretic! Yes. But, really, is not my plan for Church unity on the basis of a Common Ministry, less theoretic than any other that has ever been proposed, since it is the only one that has been tried with success?

But, the reader may object, "The reorganization of the Churches which you are proposing in order that we may have a United Protestant Church of the United States, and, ultimately, a United Catholic Church, will organize my Church out of existence." This objection gives expression to a natural fear in which the representatives of all the Denominations will share. There are how-

ever, two considerations which should remove any anxiety occasioned on this account.

The historic Church, for example, of the English-speaking race, in its organic national parts, and even as a whole communion, certainly is no more the Church of God than was the historic Church of the Hebrew race. Yet the Church of the Hebrews is overshadowed by the Church of the Christians, somewhat as it is proposed to overshadow the Churches of the divided Christians of this country by the Church of the United States. As, upon Christian principles, there should be no Jewish Church, so upon the same principles, there should be no sectarian Churches.

The loss of self for a high purpose is one of the fundamental requirements of our holy religion. Christianity, both ideally and practically, is really founded upon the principle of sacrifice; in fact this is true of civilization as a whole. God, in the person of the Christ, made the amazing sacrifice of losing Himself, so far as it was possible for Divinity to lose itself, in the ocean of humanity, in order that the world might be saved from corruption and death.

In view of the astonishing sacrifice of our Lord, and His explicit teaching concerning the necessity of sacrifice on the part of His followers, why should any sectarian Church, made up of those who would be His true disciples, object to losing its identity in the oneness of Christ's Body, the united brotherhood of believers, in order to se-

cure that organic Christian unity upon which depends the evangelization of the world.

Since it is not only His will, but His intense desire, to which He gave expression in exhortation, prophecy and prayer, that His followers should constitute one great all-inclusive flock, under one shepherding Ministry, should not the representatives, both Laymen and Ministers, of all the separate flocks in, for example, the United States, be not only willing, but anxious, to lose themselves into one mighty Catholic, national racial fold, under a common, unified Ministry which would be able to gather, to feed, to tend, and to hold together such a flock?

Another consideration, which should reconcile the Churches of a nation or race to the losing of themselves in a national or racial Church, is the fact that what they already possess of permanent value will live on and operate as a leavening influence in a much wider sphere and to a much greater purpose in a Catholic body, than it does now in its sectarian body.

In consequence of our sectarianism, we Christians are not obeying the two practical requirements of the Lord Jesus: (1) "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations;" and (2) "Let your light shine before men."

Let me give a concrete illustration of what I mean. The attractive little city of Galion, Ohio, where I commenced my Ministry and still have my summer home, will serve the purpose as well as any other place. It is a typical American town, with a population of about

10,000, having eleven Protestant Churches, but not a single charitable institution of any kind. It is a railroad center, and should have a large, well-equipped, free hospital. It has no orphan asylum and no home for aged poor.

Now how shall men see the good works of Galion Protestant Christians and glorify their Father which is in Heaven? Unhappily, those Galionites are no more neglectful of their Lord's great commands than are the Protestant Christians in other American towns.

Christians have a great mission; the enlightening and saving of a darkened world by setting up the lamp of the Gospel in every part; and by keeping it filled, trimmed and burning. Under the most solemn of imaginable circumstances, God the Son revealed to His blessed Apostles and through them to all His disciples of every age, that they could not fulfill their glorious mission, unless they bound themselves in the closest unity to Himself and to each other.

An experience of the summer of 1909 convinces me that there is no reason at all why, for example, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and the Disciples of Christ should not worship and work together. The Episcopal Church of Galion was closed during the absence of the Rector on his vacation, and special circumstances seemed to make it undesirable that I should officiate. So on four successive Sunday mornings I attended in turn the Service of the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Disciple Churches.

I was surprised and impressed by the fact that the services were, as to their order, and practically in all other respects, identical. The order was so uniform that if the four congregations had worshipped together their representatives would have felt perfectly at home, so far as knowing what would come next could contribute to such a feeling. The Service in each case made a favorable impression upon me, and I came away feeling that I had worshipped God as truly as I would have done at our own Morning Prayer.

The sermons of these services were good, quite the equal, I think, of the average sermon in the Episcopal Church. One of them was on a very difficult article of the Apostles' Creed. The subject was well handled, in entire conformity to sound doctrine. If occasion required, I should be glad to take advantage of Canon xix in licensing the preachers of those sermons, in any Church of the Diocese of Arkansas.

I could not help feeling it to be a matter of great regret that the four congregations could not have worshipped together on those Sunday mornings. There would have been plenty of room and to spare in any one of their Churches, and there would have been greater enthusiasm for the people, and inspiration for the Minister.

And now I relate a remarkable fact which shows that there really is no reason why these congregations of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists and Disciples might not have worshipped together on those Sunday mornings or

why they might not worship together every Sunday morning.

The Protestant Churches of Galion have a custom, which happily seems to be spreading throughout the country, of having Union Services on the Sunday evenings of July and August. These Services are held in the several Church buildings in regular rotation, and the Pastors preach in turn, in accordance with an order which provides that no Pastor will preach in his own Church. One of these services which I attended was held in the German Reformed Church, the largest ecclesiastical structure in town. There must have been seven hundred people in the main part of the Church, and fully three hundred who came could not gain admittance, because the Sunday School room could not be thrown open on account of the breaking of the cable of the connecting doors.

The truth which I wish to impress lies on the surface, and it is a truth having a fundamental bearing upon the question of Christian unity. If the representatives of the Protestant Churches, both clerical and lay, of Galion and other places throughout the United States can worship together on Sunday evenings in July and August each year, there is no reason in principle why they might not do so on Sunday mornings as well as evenings all the year around.

Among the most hopeful signs of the times so far as they relate to the great and pressing problem of Church union, and there are many such signs, is the fact that the Laity in all of the Churches have become dissatisfied

with sectarianism and are doing what they can to discourage the sectarian spirit in the preaching of their Ministers. The majority of them will no longer patiently listen to the sectarian sermons which were not only acceptable to their fathers but demanded by them. The time was, even within my memory, when the average congregation felt that it was being defrauded of its just dues, unless its Minister in nearly every sermon quite pointedly contrasted the excellencies of his Church with the imperfections of all rivals in the community.

Speaking of the decadence of the sectarian spirit, a prominent layman of the Episcopal Church in the great metropolis of our country remarked to me that a few years ago he knew the religious affiliations of almost every man with whom he came into close contact, and was strongly inclined to discriminate in favor of those of his own household of faith; but that now, although I know him to be as devout a Churchman as ever, it seldom occurs to him even to inquire concerning the ecclesiastical relationship of a new acquaintance, and between himself and members of another Church than his own there is no longer the slightest barrier to the development of the closest intimacy.

No stronger evidence of the decline of sectarianism among the laity is needed than is afforded by the organization and development of the Young Men's Christian Association and by the mighty Inter-Church Laymen's Missionary Movement which has recently been set on foot. This movement which is destined to gather force, and,

so far as the laity are concerned, sweep everything before it, would have been an impossibility only ten or fifteen years ago.

Most happily this breaking down of sectarian walls between the laity, is destined to be completed in the near future, and then will begin a general and persistent demand for a different order of things, by doing away with our unnecessary and hurtful divisions. There is no other goal at which the several inter-Church movements can logically converge and terminate. The idea that these movements are destined to die out before their aim at a world-wide co-operating Christian brotherhood is realized, can be entertained only by those who do not give sufficient attention to the teaching of history concerning similar movements. The determination of the Laity to ignore sectarian boundaries and to get together must sooner or later spread to the Clergy. Indeed, in many places, this unifying leaven of the Laity has already permeated the Ministry, and, to a very perceptible degree, is doing its blessed work of unification. The great Inter-Church Conference Movement originated by ministerial associations was made a blessed possibility because of this leaven of the laity.

I am sure that it has not entered into the heart of the majority of Christians, to conceive of all the manifold and wide-spread good that would result from the coming together of the Protestant Churches of the United States. It would give them the spiritual unity of "the Communion of Saints," such as now exists between the various national branches of the Anglican Communion; a national and

international Denominational co-operation in missionary, philanthropic and reformatory enterprises, a great system of inter-Denominational hospitals, orphanages, homes and eleemosynary properties, national and perhaps also international missionary societies; a Denominational partition of the mission field in heathen countries; a reduction of the number of superfluous Churches, and a corresponding increase in the number of resident Ministers in the villages and rural districts of Christian countries; a partition between the Denominations of the work among the poor of our great cities; a consolidation of small and struggling city parishes into great Churches; the solution of the ministerial supply problem; an order of special preachers; crowded Protestant Churches; attractive inspiring Services; an adequate Clerical staff for all the larger parishes; a division of ministerial labors among those who have a special aptitude for the work to be done; much better Theological Seminaries; a better qualified Protestant Ministry, and last, but not least, better equipped, more efficient Sunday Schools.

All this and much more would be the ultimate and inevitable result of the unification of Protestant Christianity.

The great Head of the Church, whose doctrines we are to disseminate and whose glory we are to promote, is One, and therefore the organization for its accomplishment should be one. The doctrines and precepts enjoined, the motives to obedience, the duties to be performed, the rewards and punishments proposed, are one and the

same for all; therefore the society should be one. The entrance into this spiritual kingdom, the new birth, is the same for all, and the same truth is the food for all. Why should we not walk together? All have been bought by the same blood of Christ from the same thralldom of sin; the badges of membership, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are the same for all; and why are we not all one? The truth is, if we would only admit and realize and live it, we are one.

The kingdom of Christ is set up in the world for the purpose of gaining a conquest for the Gospel over the whole earth. It is an admitted as well as an important truth that union is strength. If all the zeal and learning and effort that are expended by Christian churches in competing with one another, were devoted to the propagation of the Gospel, teaching sinners the way of life, it would require but a few years to preach it to all the nations of the earth.

One of the reasons why Jesus prayed for union was that the world might believe in His mission; "that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me."

So far as our own Christianized countries are concerned, it is conceded that, in her divided state, it is impossible for the Church to give adequate ministrations to villages and rural districts, or to sufficiently administer to the needs of the poor in our great centers of population.

The same line of argument which leads to the conclusion that Episcopalians and Presbyterians, who are standing upon the Catholic principle that the Lord Jesus created a

Royal Family or Priesthood instead of a Kingdom or Church, should come together under a Common Ministry will ultimately lead to the conclusion that Sacerdotal Catholics and Republican Protestants can and therefore should get together. For notwithstanding all the controversy between them, there is no difference on account of which separation can be justified as a moral necessity.

It is indeed true that Sacerdotal Catholics maintain that the Lord created officers and left them to create a Church, while Republican Protestants contend that He created a Church and left it to create officers. Here the principle involved is that of creation, and both are agreed that ultimately Christ must be regarded as the direct or indirect creator of the Church. The question of how He did the creating, whether through Ministers of His making or People of His making, has to do with theories that may well be sacrificed for the sake of unity which is seen to be absolutely necessary to the universal spread of His Kingdom and its complete development.

Nor must we lose sight of the reassuring fact that both the Sacerdotal Catholic and Republican Protestant theories of the origin of the Church may at bottom be equally true. For, on the one hand, the essential requirement is that the Church should be acknowledged to be a Divine institution; and on the other hand, it may well be admitted that during the short period between the call of the Apostles and the Ascension, the Association, Brotherhood or Church of believers was Divine because of the presence of the God-Man Himself; and that afterwards,

until Pentecost, it continued to be Divine, because of the leadership, under His almost immediate influence of the blessed, faithful Eleven whom He had associated with Himself during the three years of His public Ministry.

And surely Sacerdotal Catholics will admit that the Church from Whitsunday until this time, and to the Second Coming, must be regarded as Divine, even on the Protestant theory that the ruling or leading authority of the Lord and His Apostles ended, and that the more ordinary, though not less supernatural dispensation of Providence, under the influence of God's Spirit commenced.

Really it is not at all necessary, in order to maintain the Divine character of the Church of Christ, to insist upon the acceptance of the theory contained in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. The doctrine of the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church of Christ, and the Providential ruling of it by Him is all that should be required in the way of a confession of a Divine character for the Church as a basis of Christian unity. According to either of these doctrines, the Church is sufficiently Divine. Why, then, cannot Sacerdotal Catholics and Republican Protestants agree to differ as to the doctrinal theory of accounting for her Divinity, and join hands in endeavors to make her the light of a sin darkened world?

As for the questions concerning sacramental grace, which for so many centuries have sorely vexed the Church, why should Sacerdotal Catholics and Republican Protestants allow them any longer to keep them apart while the world is perishing for the want of their united effort?

On the one hand it is believed that the worthy recipient

of Ordination and of the other sacramental ordinances especially Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Communion, is given an infusion of something which he had not before, that will enable him to make the example and precepts of the Lord Jesus his pattern and rule of life, as otherwise he could not.

On the other hand it is believed that a grace which is already in the possession of every member of the human race, as an universal effect of the infusion of the Divine nature into human nature through the Incarnation, is strengthened in the worthy recipient of any of the Sacerdotal ordinances of our holy religion, so that he is enabled to walk in the footsteps of the Divine Saviour, as otherwise he could not.

It is a palpable fact, perfectly evident to all who are not so blinded with the bandage of sectarian prejudice that they cannot see such facts, that both the Sacerdotal Catholics and Republican Protestants are, everywhere, throughout Christendom, with equal success, living the Christ life and growing into the full stature of exemplary Christian manhood and womanhood. Since then, both have the substance and bear the fruits of sacramental grace, why should they continue their hurtful disputings, as to whether or not the Christ life and growth which they respectively exhibit is to be explained as the result of an infusion of grace or the strengthening of grace?

Having by the mutual and common consent of all sensible, candid people, the substance of Divine grace why may we not, with perfect consistency, without any refer-

ence to our widely divergent theories as to how we have come into possession of it, walk hand in hand in the ways of goodwill and peace, and fight shoulder to shoulder for the conquest of the world for our King?

Because of our equally warm love for the Christ, our Elder Brother, and because of our equally strong desire for the salvation of the world let us cease our unseemly, blighting wranglings as to how we have come into the possession of enabling grace, and by cordially co-operating with each other, make use of it for our own good, and for the furtherance of our Lord's Kingdom.

Not even does sentiment or reverence for the Church as a sacred institution necessarily constitute an insuperable barrier to the association of Sacerdotal Catholics and Republican Protestants in public worship, or to co-operation in missionary and philanthropic undertakings. For, as I have intimated, if He who is acknowledged by both as Lord and Saviour did not found the Church, by giving specific directions to His first Apostles respecting its constitution, it is nevertheless Divine as the result of Providential developments growing out of the preaching of the Gospel.

When the religious devolutionist and the religious evolutionist go below the surface of things, they find that the difference in their views concerning the origin and authority of the Christian church and ministry, afford no reason why they should continue to stand aloof from each other.

The renowned historical critic, Professor Pfleiderer, is

perhaps as radical as any among the great authorities in the field of ecclesiastical antiquities, in his opposition to the theory of devolution by which Sacerdotalists account for the existence of the institutions of Christianity and for the obligations connected with them; but in all literature it would be difficult to find a paragraph which gives expression to more of reverential sentiment for organic Christianity than is found in these words, spoken in 1894, on the occasion of his becoming Rector of the University of Berlin. It seems to me that after reading what he says the most extreme Sacerdotalist in the world, whoever he may be, say Pope Pius X, must feel that he would like to shake hands with Professor Pfleiderer and enter into a partnership with him in some undertaking for the glory of God and the good of man. Nor, can there be any doubt that together they might accomplish what otherwise could not be done. Here is the notable utterance:

“ If we learn from history that the great institutions of society, the State and the Church, are neither a finished gift from Heaven nor a creation of human caprice, but the result of a development which has run a course of thousands of years, and to which unnumbered deeds and sufferings, conflicts and sacrifices, of all generations have contributed; such an insight can only increase our reverence for these institutions, and strengthen the purpose to devote all our powers in order to maintain the holy inheritance of the fathers unimpaired amidst the storms of the present time, and to give it an ever richer development

and a finer form for the welfare of the coming generations."

In beginning this book, I quoted a renowned teacher's prophetic words, "The world will never be converted by a disunited Church;" and now let me end it with the burning appeal of one of the many hero missionaries, "of whom the world is not worthy," for that coming together of the Churches without which, as all workers in mission fields have come to see, the Christian civilization cannot be universally extended and fully developed. If you can read his pathetic and representative appeal to the Churches of Europe and America without being touched to tears, you can do more than I could do when I first read it.

"Can you not," he asks, "restore to us the unity of the Christian Church? For the sake of the life of young Churches and great nations, for the sake of perplexed Christianity of your own lands, for the sake of the honor of your Lord, now at least make real to yourselves and visible to the world the unity of the Body of Christ. We have long lamented our divisions, and we have begun to be ashamed of them. We have spoken with pious grief about the rent robe of Christ, and longed for its knitting together again. We have forgotten that there is not merely a rent robe, but there is a wounded body; and that wounded body is the Body of your Lord, in pain till its wounds be healed.

"The Churches which you have planted across the seas have not been won by your words of division. In the days of the great persecution in China, nine years

ago, when the Boxers tested the Christians there, they did not test them by the Westminster Confession, nor by the Thirty-nine Articles, nor by the Twenty-four, nor by the Sermons of Wesley. Instinctively they chose a more universal and a more searching test. Drawing a rude cross upon the ground, they called on their prisoners to trample it under foot, offering life and freedom to those who did so, and death to those who refused. In that hour of terror, some fell from a scarcely grasped faith, but many thousands, men, women and children, could not bring themselves to put a contemptuous foot on the rudest symbol of the holy passion of their Redeemer, and they died unflinchingly, not as Anglicans, Wesleyans or Presbyterians, but as Christians, members of the one Body, holding the one faith, inspired by the one Spirit; and so they gained the Crown of Life.

“The testimony of these martyrs, and the voice of the Church which glories in cherishing their memory, has one clear message for us in the Western Churches, and it is this: ‘It was never your words of division that won us and drew us to the faith and service of Christ. When you speak these words of division your voice is the voice of strangers, and the flock of Christ will neither hear nor follow. But when you speak the word of the Cross you use an irresistible spell. In that sign you conquer us.’

“So far you all, no doubt, approve. But note what follows. ‘If our divisions have no vital place in your mission to the world, if you cannot commend them to others why perpetuate them among ourselves?’ ”

THE LEVEL PLAN FOR CHURCH UNION.

APPENDIX

THE CHIEF BARRIER TO CHRISTIAN UNITY.

BY

“ANGLICAN PRESBYTER.”

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PREFATORY NOTE.

IN THE third part of the following essay, under the heading—The Canons of Hippolytus and a Republican Episcopate—I claimed that in the opinion as to what functions belong essentially, and therefore exclusively, to the Episcopate, lies the crux of the unity problem. The contention running throughout the *entire* three parts is, that there are no functions belonging exclusively to the Episcopate, since the latter is merely a higher office which was developed out of the one order of Presbyter-Bishops by its own members to meet an emergency, to which was given the definite title of the Episcopate. Thus *per se* this higher office possesses no functions which do not belong equally to every member of the lower office, the Presbyterate proper. This I showed was not only the conclusion of the majority of our own Anglican scholars, but that it was also the opinion of certain noted Roman Catholic and Protestant writers.

In harmony with this view I may again quote from the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Robinson, to the effect, that

“ the Monarchial Episcopate quickly became the symbol and safeguard of the Church’s fellowship ” (The Vision of Unity and other Addresses). In an editorial, the *Church Times*, as representing the ‘ Catholics ’ in the Church of England, said, “ Dean Robinson’s earnest and devout pleas for unity are weakened by his seeming endorsement of the common conception of Episcopacy merely as a form of government . . . it was not as a useful head official that ‘ the Bishop was the centre of unity ’ . . . rather the Bishop was the successor of the Apostles and stood in the place of Jesus Christ.” (Nov. 13th, 1908.) This is the “ Catholic ” theory of the Episcopate, which the *Church Times* in the further editorial on Presbyterian Orders represents as the view that the Church’s Ministry is transmitted in “ an unbroken successive series from Christ and His Apostles,” adding, “ Only the ordained can ordain.” This is but another way of describing the doctrine of Apostolic Succession (a succession transmitted through the Episcopate exclusively), “ of which fiction,” wrote Dean Alford, “ I find in the New Testament no trace,” and to which Canon Rashdall referred as, “ a gigantic figment.” Notwithstanding all this, however, the *Church Times* claims that “ Theologians have demonstrated in many folios and quartos the Divine right of Monarchial Episcopacy as the true and Scriptural form of ecclesiastical polity.” It adds, “ Others have argued that it is only of the *bene esse* of the Church, not its *esse*. We hold that it is certainly of the Divine institution.” Thus it concludes, “ Until the Catholic and

Liberal conceptions of what is meant by the Church of God are brought nearer to one another, reunionists are working for different ends, and while the rent is being drawn together in one place, it is by the very act made worse at another." These are weighty words, weighty because they are true. No efforts for Christian unity, however sincere and strenuous, can ever accomplish their desired end while amongst those seeking it there exist two irreconcilable conceptions as to what is absolutely essential to constitute such unity. But do Christians believe in their Lord's prayer for unity, which meant of course corporate as well as spiritual unity, since the hearing of the Master's voice was to result not merely in one *aim*, but also in one *flock*. (Jno. x, 16.) It was this feature which our Lord evidently included in His prayer for unity in order to convince the world of the complete oneness of Himself with the Father and of all men in both. (Jno. xvii, 20, 21.) We take it for granted that all Christians *do* believe in this prayer, and that in so believing they will further recognize the necessity of removing at all cost the barriers which stand in the way of its fulfillment. Now the chief barrier is undoubtedly the disputed point as to what constitutes the real character and value of Episcopacy, as this is the basis upon which the conception of the whole "Catholic Church" is built. Now the "Catholic" view of the Episcopate is explained by Bishop Short as follows—"According to the doctrine of an Episcopal Church, he who was ordained without the presence of a Bishop was never ordained at all; he wants the essence

of ordination, the laying-on-of the hands of a Bishop. (His. Ch. Eng. p. 246, note.) Some Anglican writers have endeavored to prove that the Preface to our Ordinal as extended in 1661 with the additional clause, "or hath Episcopal Consecration or Ordination," has still "nothing whatever to say upon the subject of Apostolic Succession, or the validity or non-validity of non-Episcopal ordination." (McCrady-Apostolic Succession and the Problem of Unity, p. 43.) Bishop Barry, however, in his Teacher's Prayer Book refers to this addition as "clearly distinguishing Episcopal Ordination from all other, and all exceptions to it for the future disallowed" (p. 508 d.). Bishop Short, referring to the Act of Uniformity (1662), which included the revised Ordinal of the previous year, says, "though diversity of opinion has been entertained as to the validity of the ordination of foreign reformed Churches, the question was now decided with regard to the Church of England . . . for the future was now settled by the Act of Uniformity, and rightly so settled if the principles previously laid down with regard to Episcopacy be correct." (ib., p. 243.)

Much controversy has arisen as to the meaning of the expression Historic Episcopate in the fourth clause of the platform of unity adopted by the Anglican authorities at Lambeth in 1888. Writers like Mr. McCrady labor to show that the above expression as embodying a belief is entirely distinct from the doctrine of Apostolic Succession (ib., pp. 43, ff; 139, ff.) Bishop Seymour, however, who attended that conference, says, "In the judgment of

Lightfoot, as evidently in the intention of the Ordinal, the 'Historic Episcopate' includes the Apostolic Succession." (Proofs of the Historic Episcopate, p. 4.) Bishop Seymour, in thus referring to Lightfoot, after quoting a sentence from one of the addresses of this great scholar, has infused into his words a meaning they do not necessarily bear, and which is seen to be altogether contrary to his mind on this subject when compared with his defined position expressed in other utterances. Apart from Bishop Lightfoot, however, Bishop Seymour correctly defined the opinion of the main body of the Present Anglican Bishops, together with the real intention of our Ordinal as amended in 1661. and ratified by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Mr. McCrady assumes that the Oxford movement, beginning in 1833, was the real source and mother of the present wide-spread interpretation of the phrase "the Historic Episcopate" as including, or as synonymous with, Apostolic Succession. (ib., p. 128. cf. 18.) It was, however, in 1832 that Bishop Short published his "History of the Church of England" from which we have previously quoted. Our references show the view of a Bishop and noted scholar of his day as to the meaning of the revised Ordinal. When, therefore, we add to this the further view held to-day equally by Bishops Barry and Seymour, there can be little doubt that Mr. McCrady, and all similar apologists, are entirely in error in their opinion that our present Ordinal, and the phrase "Historic Episcopate," as used in the fourth clause of the Chicago Lambeth Quadrilateral, do not imply the acceptance of

the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. Nor let it be supposed for a moment that the sentence in the Preface of the Ordinal, "*in this Church*," affects our conclusion in the least by signifying that the Anglican Church "requires Episcopal ordination for the administration of her own ordinances, but in so doing does not deny the validity of the ordinances of other Churches, though non-Episcopal." (Blakeney—The Book of Common Prayer, p. 828.) Before the paragraph of this Preface which deals with the character of the Orders recognized "*in this Church*," there is another dealing with the character of Orders generally. Originally this merely stated that no man could privately of his own authority execute any of the ministerial Orders before he had been "first called, tried, and examined." In 1661, however, to this direction was added, "by lawful authority." It has been attempted to show that the authority here referred to means no more than the ordering "by men who have public authority given them in the congregation." (McCrady, *ib.* p. 38.) Undoubtedly the Reformers so viewed this authority, but not so the Revisers of 1661, who meant their added phrase "by lawful authority," to be understood as including Episcopal ordination at the hands of one who himself was a lawful Bishop by virtue of *his* elevation to the Episcopate by Episcopal ordination. Hence they concluded the directions for the Episcopal ordaining of candidates for Orders in "*this Church*," with the sentence, "or hath had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination."

Returning to the phrase " Historic Episcopate " in the fourth clause of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. The acceptance of the Historic Episcopate has here been made a *sine qua non* to Christian unity by the Anglican Church. But how is this to be accepted by non-Episcopal Churches. The only way, according to our Ordinal, is by their receiving Episcopal ordination from us, or from some other Historic Episcopal Church, that is to say, by means of an Apostolic Succession. Thus it is that whether the framers of the Quadrilateral meant it or no, its fourth clause as interpreted by our present Ordinal does include, as Bishop Seymour said, the Apostolic Succession, while it is equally so viewed by non-Episcopal scholars. (Prof. Williston Walker—The Validity of Congregational Ordination, p. 4.)

In his famous sermon, the Dean of Westminster said, " I have chosen the subject of Christian unity, because it is to my thinking by far the most important that presents itself at the moment of history at which we have now arrived." But how is it possible to talk of unity between Episcopalians and Protestants, or, as the *Church Times* expressed it, between Catholics and Liberals, when they differ radically as to the character of the basis essential to such unity? It is impossible, and so it is for this reason that I said that the chief barrier to Christian unity was the disputed point as to what constituted the real character and value of Episcopacy. Notwithstanding our present Ordinal, I believe the *Church Times* to be in error in stating that Theologians have demonstrated in many

volumes that Monarchical Episcopacy is the true and Scriptural form of ecclesiastical polity. Where are these volumes, and who are these theologians? The two most learned representatives of modern ' Catholics ' are Gore, and Moberly, yet these have not demonstrated to any one but their own school of thought the Divine right of Monarchical Episcopacy. On the other hand, it is not difficult to show that the very opposite opinion is that maintained by the majority of Anglican scholars. I mean by the opposite opinion, the Republican as opposed to the Monarchical Episcopate. A Republican form of the Episcopate offered to the great non-Episcopal bodies stands a fair chance of winning consideration at their hands. In closing the third part of my essay, I fully defined what I meant by a Republican Episcopate, so that all that is necessary for me to do here is to suggest some method by which the non-Episcopal Churches could be brought into connection with the Historic Episcopate. Bishop Brown has correctly proposed reordination, but how is this to be effected? By what form of service can this end be accomplished without giving needless offence to the Protestant Churches, whose present Ministries we recognize as the equal of our own for all ministerial functions? We suggest two forms. (1) A Bishop of an Historic Church laying his hands upon the head of the candidate for reordination, shall say, " Take thou legal authority to execute the office of (Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop) in any Historic Church or Diocese to which thou shalt be lawfully appointed." (2) The present form of ordination in the An-

glican Ordinal as there worded shall be that used in the respective cases of Deacon, Presbyter, and Bishop, except first, that the words "in the Church of God," following the particular office specified shall be changed into, "in any Historic Church of God." No question of Apostolic Succession, as that phrase is understood to signify, could possibly enter into either of these methods, because all the authority conferred would be the mere ecclesiastical right to exercise in the Historic Church the ministerial office already possessed. And this could be definitely provided for in the second proposed change, viz., instead of the respective forms of reading, "*the* Office of Deacon," or "*the* Office and work of a Priest," or "of a Bishop," they would run, "*your* office of Deacon," "*your* Office and work of a Priest," or "of a Bishop," according to the Office in the Ministry to which the candidate for reordination had already been ordained. The Republican character of the Episcopate might be definitely acknowledged by the Anglican Church by inserting into her service for the consecration of Bishops a similar explanation of the Office of Bishop to that already in the Methodist service. It runs, "This service is not to be understood as an ordination to a higher Order in the Christian Ministry, beyond and above that of Elders or Presbyters, but a solemn and fitting consecration for the special and most sacred duties of Superintendency in the Church." (Discipline M. E. Ch., p. 558.) We have produced abundant evidence in our essay to show that Bishops and Presbyters form but one Order in the Christian ministry, and that

being so, a definite statement to that effect would alter nothing, but it would emphasize the true Republican character of the Episcopate. It is upon this character of the Episcopate that Bishop Brown, with the inspiration of a true "seer," and the knowledge of a thorough scholar, has based his whole plan of Christian unity, knowing well that a Monarchial Episcopate as the basis of such unity has no chance of even consideration at the hands of non-Episcopal Churches. The Bishop, however, has wisely presented his plan unencumbered in the course of its development by any detailed references to authorities upon which it is founded. To supply this, and thereby to show the warrant for the Bishop's view of the true character and powers of the Episcopate, is the main object of the following essay, a perusal of which will further show that the Historic Episcopate, viewed as including, and as constituted by, an unbroken tactual succession of Bishops from the Apostles to the present time, is the chief barrier to Christian unity. Notwithstanding, however, this Republican character of the Episcopate as it originally existed down to 324 A. D., the only way by which the Historic Episcopate can be secured by those Churches which do not possess it, is, as I have already intimated, reordination by Bishops who are themselves members of the Historic Episcopate. Had all the Reformed Churches at the Reformation agreed to restore the original Republican character of the Episcopate, and so appointed Bishops after the manner of the early Churches of Rome and Alexandria, then it would have been sufficient for their

re-incorporation into the Historic Church of to-day for the Monarchial Bishops of this Church to offer them the right hand of fellowship. This fellowship greeting would then have signified that these Republican Bishops were as true Bishops as the Monarchial Bishops of the Historic Church. Most of these Reformed Churches, however, rejected Episcopacy entirely, thus the only possible way to unite them again with the Historic Episcopate is through reordination by Bishops who are themselves members of an Historic Episcopate. This is plainly seen by the noted scholar and representative of the Congregational Church, Dr. Newman Smythe, who has lately declared, "Episcopacy holds the key to the door through which other Churches may be invited to enter into a Catholicism large enough to hold them all." (Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism.) This Episcopacy Dr. Smythe definitely intimates is that possessed by the Anglican Church, which he thus sees to be also the door by which the Protestant Churches can once more be reunited with the Historic Episcopate. But how? By reordination at the hands of the Bishops of the Anglican Church. Not, however, on the ground that these Bishops possess an unbroken Apostolic Succession, for this he correctly repudiates, but because they are members of an actual Historic Episcopate. Further, until all the Historic Churches, have come into union, including the Roman and Greek Churches, for there can be no real unity with these left out—Episcopal ordination would have to be exclusively maintained by all the Churches entering a unity, otherwise an insuperable

barrier would be created to the future coming in of the Historic Churches still outside. When all shall have come in, then the Republican character of the Episcopate could be restored as already indicated, this Republican character being safeguarded both previously and subsequently by inserting into the service of reordination the explanation previously referred to.

I.

THE ORIGIN AND POWERS OF THE EPISCOPATE.

ALL SCHOLARS agree that in the period covered by the New Testament, the terms Presbyter and Bishop referred to one and the same person. Alluding to their respective positions, which might be assumed to differ owing to their separate titles, Professor Gwatkin, from the evidence produced, says, "The general equivalence of the two offices in the apostolic age seems undeniable," and he closes an exhaustive enquiry into any possible difference, with these words, "our general conclusion is, that while we find Deacons and Elders (or Bishops in the New Testament sense) in the apostolic age, there is no clear trace of Bishops (in the later sense), or of any apostolic ordinance that every Church was to

have its Bishop." (Bishop—Church Government. Hastings' D. B.)

Canon Sanday tells us that during the period covered from St. Paul's speech at Miletus, to the Epistle of Clement of Rome, and possibly to the Shepherd of Hermas (cir. A. D. 140) "the terms Bishop and Presbyter were applied to the same persons." Though he adds, "that at the time of the martyrdom of Ignatius, *i. e.*, probably about 110-117 A. D., at Antioch in Syria, and in some of the Churches in Western Asia Minor, there was already established a Monarchial Episcopate." (The Conception of Priesthood, p. 61.)

Now the above agrees with the following statement of the English Bishops under Henry VIII, in referring to the original establishment of the permanent offices of the Christian ministry. They say—"In the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinction in Orders, but only of Deacons or Ministers, and of Priests or Bishops," adding—"of these two Orders only Scripture maketh express mention." In alluding to the later distinction between Bishops and Presbyters as indicated by Ignatius, Canon Sanday says, "How the transition was brought about we can only guess." (*ib.*, p. 61.) However it was brought about, the English Bishops referred to definitely attributed it to human origin. Repudiating, as unwarranted, the action of the Popes in assuming the title of "Universal Bishop," or of "the head of all Priests," or of "the highest Priest," they say, "there is no mention made neither in Scripture, neither in the writings of any au-

thetical doctor or author of the Church, being within the time of the Apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, or order, or jurisdiction between the Apostles themselves or between the Bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in power, order, and jurisdiction. And that there is now, and since the time of the Apostles, any such diversity or difference among Bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the Primitive Church, for the conservation of good order and unity of the Catholic Church . . . an order of degrees to be among Bishops . . . and so ordained some to be Patriarchs, some to be Primates, some to be Metropolitans, some to be Archbishops, some to be Bishops." (Formularies of the Faith of the Reign of Henry VIII, p. 118; cf. 105, 281; Bsp. Short Hist. Ch. Eng., pp. 132-252.) But this clear statement of the case by our own Bishops at the commencement of the Reformation movement in the Church of England, is merely an endorsement of the assertion of St. Jerome, that "before the devil had incited men to make division in religion . . . Churches were governed by the common council of Presbyters. But afterwards it was everywhere decreed that one person elected from the Presbyters in each Church, should be placed over the others. So let Bishops know that they are above Presbyters rather by election than by divine appointment." (Powell—Apostolic Succession, pp. 93-95; Allen—Christian Institutions, p. 7; Lightfoot—Essay C. M.) But if we accept Jerome's statement, en-

dorsed as we have seen by our own Bishops of the period mentioned, that a separate Episcopate was the result of an arrangement made by the Churches themselves as a matter of expediency, what are we to make of the tradition that St. John was its author? I believe that this tradition originated in the fact recorded by Irenaeus, that in his youth he had seen and listened to Polycarp, who had known and conversed with St. John and others who had seen the Lord. From this he drew the conclusion that Polycarp had been made Bishop of Smyrna by Apostles. He does not say by St. John, as he surely would have done had the tradition to this effect been correct, for who would have been more likely to know and to repeat it than Irenaeus himself. Omitting all reference to St. John, he says simply, that Polycarp had been "by Apostles in Asia, appointed Bishop of the Church of Smyrna." (Her. III. 3, 4; Let. to Flor.) We next have Tertullian informing us on the authority of the Church of Smyrna itself, that John was the Apostle who had appointed Polycarp to be its Bishop. But then Tertullian mentions in the same context that in like manner the register of the Church of Rome recorded that Peter had made Clement its first Bishop, although Puller, with Anglican and most other scholars, ascribes this belief to "the Clementine Romance." (Prim. Saints and SR, p. 48; Salmon Infal. Ch., p. 361; Ter. Pres. Her., 32.) What further warrant, therefore, have we for accepting as correct the tradition of Polycarp's apostolic appointment as Bishop of Smyrna, or as a Bishop at all, any more than

for the tradition stated in the case of Clement? None at all, consequently, on this ground alone we might dismiss it as lacking evidence. But there is further reason for rejecting it. Ignatius in his letter to Polycarp is silent as to the source of Polycarp's Episcopate, although he writes to him as Bishop of the Church of Smyrna. Nor does he mention St. John in any of his letters he addresses to the very Churches in which later tradition reported that St. John had placed Bishops, and this although he makes special reference to obedience to be paid to their Bishops. Indeed, when producing authority for his advocacy of Episcopal supremacy, he definitely states, "I knew nothing of any man. But the Spirit spake, saying on this wise: Do nothing without the Bishop." (Epis. Phil.) In view of all these facts, we are not surprised that Professor Gwatkin concludes that Ignatius knew of no institution of Bishops by Apostles. (Ch. Gov. HDB.) Finally, Polycarp himself, in his letter to the Church of Philippi, makes no mention of St. John, although he enjoins its members to adopt the patience of "Paul, and the rest of the Apostles." No wonder then that Canon Bruce declines to accept the tradition that St. John introduced Episcopacy into the Churches of Asia Minor, and although Lightfoot, followed by Gwatkin, connects its introduction with this Apostle, the facts mentioned amply warrant Canon Bruce's conclusion. This last Anglican writer is not alone in the view he adopts. Principal Lindsay also rejects Lightfoot's view, asserting not only "that the Apostles did not prescribe any particular form of

Church government," but that "the indication is all the other way," and he sees in the change which Canon Sanday thought we could only guess at, a transition brought about "without any Apostolic sanction, in virtue of the power lying within the community." (The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries, pp. 132-210.)

Conceding, however, though merely for the sake of argument, that this tradition has some basis of truth, it militates against the theory that Episcopacy was of general apostolic introduction, since it indicates clearly that at the end of the apostolic age, when St. John was most probably the only surviving Apostle, the office of Bishop had not *previously* been called into existence. Even when instituted, its originators did not think it of sufficient importance to leave any direction touching its general acceptance, as Lightfoot himself concedes; while long after St. John's death there were many Churches outside the immediate sphere of his influence that were still governed by bodies of Presbyters without any superior officer, such as the Churches of Rome, Philippi, and Corinth (Wordsworth—MG, p. 136; Jacobs—The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Tes., pp. 76-78; Lightfoot—Essay CM.) The tradition in question, therefore, even if authentic, and there is ample warrant for rejecting it, is of little value as evidence in support of the theory of the divine right of Episcopal government, a theory rejected, as we have seen, by Jerome, and our own Bishops of the period named. The conclusion is, that even if we concede St. John introduced Episcopacy, in other regions the Church was at

first governed in its local and permanent Ministry by a body of Presbyters of equal authority, and while subsequently the whole Church adopted Episcopacy, such an acceptance was entirely a matter of choice, a right belonging inherently to the Churches making this change. Thus Principal Lindsay is still justified in asserting that this change in a college of Elders without a President to a college with a Bishop at its head, took place "without any apostolic sanction," but rather "In virtue of the power lying within the community." If this be so, if with these facts evidently clearly in mind, Lightfoot contended that "It is plainly competent for the Church at any given time to entrust a particular office with larger powers, as emergency may require," (CM) the Church, or any portion of the Church, as things are at present constituted, has full authority to withdraw those powers, consequently, orthodox bodies of Christians possessing the original Presbyterate of the Church may rightfully claim to possess as valid and as regular a Ministry as any Historic Episcopal Church.

Perhaps the general mistaken notion amongst Anglicans with regard to the assumed inherently exclusive powers of the Episcopate, is largely the result of a wide-spread error as to the actual reading of the opening clause of the Preface to our Ordinal, which is frequently quoted as referring to "three orders." Harold Browne, in his "39 Articles," says, "In 1549, Cranmer and twelve other divines drew up the Ordinal where it is declared, that 'from the Apostles' times, there have been *three*

Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church.' " (p. 559.) Denny has " these *three* Orders." (Anglican Orders, p. 93, S. P. C. K.) Dr. Fulton so quoted it in the Church Standard, April 5, 1902, p. 855, a mistake frequently committed even as we have seen in important works by leading scholars. But the fact is that the word *three* does not occur in this clause, nor in this preface at all, the actual wording being " these orders." (First Prayer Book, Ed. VI—Ancient and Modern Lib. Theo. Lit.) It is evidently owing to this wide-spread error that even Evan Daniel, in analyzing this Preface, represents the first clause as follows—" From the time of the Apostles there have been *three* orders of Ministers in Christ's Church." (The Prayer Book, Its. His. etc., p. 423.)

The fact is, there are but two orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, as has already been intimated in the quotation from Jerome, and that from our own Bishops as already given. Lord King was absolutely correct when he stated that " it is expressly said by the ancients, that there were but two distinct ecclesiastical orders, viz., Bishops and Deacons, or Presbyters and Deacons; and if there were but these two, Presbyters cannot be distinct from Bishops, for then there would be three." (The Primitive Church, 73.) But Evan Daniel, while acknowledging that in the New Testament Bishops and Presbyters are represented as belonging to, or forming but one Order, nevertheless, attempts to show that " The offices of Bishop and Elder appear to have become distinct even in the lifetime of the Apostles," and as evidence

to this end he points to the position held by Timothy and Titus, respectively. (pp. 419, 420.) But here he is not only opposed by some of the best modern Anglican scholars, such as Professor Gwatkin (Ch. Gov. HDB); Canon Venables (Episcopacy—Encyc. Brit.); and Bp. Lightfoot (Essay CM), but the English Bishops already quoted view Timothy and Titus as raised to the Ministry by “the authority of Priesthood” (ib. p. 278), not Episcopacy. Further, Bishop Harold Browne shows that the majority of the Fathers have held that there are but *two* orders in the Christian ministry, Bishops or Priests, and Deacons or Ministers. (ib., p. 555.) Bishop Short also showed this to be the belief of the Anglo-Saxon Church (ib., pp. 132, 252), while it is the view of the Church of Rome herself to-day, as always. (Evan Daniel, ib., p. 423.) We may therefore dismiss as unwarranted, all attempts to make the Christian ministry consist of *three* Orders. It actually consists of but *two*, which brings us to consider the assumed special and exclusive powers of the Episcopate.

The assertion that the power to ordain to the Christian ministry belongs by divine right exclusively to the Episcopate, is a modern revival of a theory of the Episcopate first propounded by Cyprian (A. D. 247-248), but not authoritatively decreed until the Council of Paris A. D. 829, maintained that the Holy Spirit is exclusively given at Ordination, through the Bishop. The ruling of this council, however, did not affect the Church at large, as we shall see presently. Bishop Wordsworth would have

us believe that the validity of Presbyterian ordination was decided in the negative in the case of Ischyra and others ordained by Colluthus. But this settlement (A. D. 324), was not touching the validity of Presbyters to ordain, but concerning acts done under unlawful conditions. (Wordsworth, MG, pp. 138, 169; Colluthus—SDCA.)

The divine right of Episcopacy was first authoritatively decreed by the Church of Rome at the council of Trent, A. D. 1545-1560, whose ruling first found definite footing in England in A. D. 1549, when Bancroft preached his famous sermon in which he claimed that "Bishops were a distinct order from Priests, and had superiority over them *Jure Divino* and direct from God . . . that the denial of it was heresy." (Neil His. Pur. Vol. I., p. 262.) This did not pass unchallenged, however, as it was absolutely contrary to the teaching of the Anglican Reformers, and only finally succeeded in becoming the recognized teaching of the Church of England in A. D. 1661, when the Preface to the Ordinal was revised to emphasize this new doctrine. Before that time, as Bishop Barry concedes in his Teacher's Prayer Book, men having merely Presbyterian Ordination were allowed to minister in our Church. Lord Bacon complained at the close of the reign of Elizabeth that this doctrine was being promulgated. Notwithstanding it continued, and in A. D. 1593, Bilson asserted the full doctrine of Apostolic Succession (Wakefield His. Ch. Eng. p. 358.) In 1604, Laud was reproved by the University of Oxford for maintaining in his exercise for Bachelor of Divinity, that there could

be no true Church without Bishops. To him we owe the phrase *nullus episcopus, nulla ecclesia*, which, however, is but another way of stating Cyprian's maxim, "The Bishop is in the Church, and the Church is in the Bishop." (Epis. lxvi, 8.) Still, this was Cyprian's own opinion, which was not shared universally, and even when publicly maintained, as we have seen, it was not till the Council of Trent that Rome endorsed this ruling. In the meantime, Anglican writers like Hall and Chillingworth put forth their respective works on "Episcopacy of Divine Right," and "Divine Institution of Episcopacy," until all this is so taken for granted with us, that our leading paper, *The Guardian*, does not scruple to find fault with one of our own Bishops (Perowne—Sept. 28, 1892), in the following words, "If the Bishop of Worcester had been content to say that he did not know whether Episcopacy was of the *esse* or of the *bene esse* of a Church, we should have no criticism to make of his statement. It is with his readiness to pronounce that it has to do only with the *bene esse* that we find fault, and we do so because such a declaration seems to us wholly inconsistent with the jealous adherence to a policy derived from apostolic direction." The Church of England has traveled a long way since Archbishop Whitgift declared, "notwithstanding government, or some kind of government, may be part of the Church, yet it is not such a part of the Church's essence and being, but that it may be the Church of Christ without this or that kind of government." (Works, p. 184, vol. I., P. S.).

Far as we have journeyed from this view, there are not wanting men who will yet check the utterly unwarranted course taken by the Anglican Church perhaps more aggressively to-day than ever before. The present Bishop of Durham was reported in *The Guardian* for Jan. 22, 1902, as saying in an address at the Newcastle Y. M. C. A., "he was a believer in a moderate Episcopacy, and was a Bishop himself holding an office which he could not possibly have accepted if he had not thought it according to the will of God that he might take it; but he held that it was possible to think all that, and to say a great deal more than that about it, and yet be absolutely true, as a son of the English Church, in repudiating the tremendous position of '*nullus episcopus, nulla ecclesia*.' He repudiated that position, and he knew that he was a good Anglican when he did so." Here is Bishop Moule supporting the view of Bishop Perowne, which opinion is endorsed by Canon Sanday, perhaps the most widely recognized English theologian of his day. He writes, "It should be distinctly borne in mind that the more sweeping refusal to recognize the non-Episcopal Reformed Churches is not, and can never be made a doctrine of the Church of England; too many of her most representative men have not shared in it." (*The Conception of the Priesthood*, p. 95.) No, it can never be made a doctrine of the Church of England, because it is absolutely contrary to the teaching of its Reformers, who held, that the Episcopal form of government is the best and most Scriptural, meaning

by that, best agreeing with what we find foreshadowed in Scripture, without it being either taught or even intimated there as a possible future method of government. Thus, while its adoption is agreeable with what we find in Scripture, it cannot be viewed as binding upon any Church desiring some other mode of government. It is a mere matter of choice, as was so plainly stated by Whitgift in his reply to Travers, "It is plain that any one certain form or kind of external government perpetually to be observed, is nowhere in Scripture prescribed to the Church." (ib.) Nor let it be thought that all this represents the thought of a past age, or of a few men of an extreme party bias. On the contrary, it is the expression of our most sober scholarship as represented by such men as Professor Gwatkin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge, England, who writes: "Though the Lord commanded His disciples to form a society, there is no indication that either He or His Apostles ever prescribed any definite form for it." (Bishop HDB.) He adds, touching the Elders left alone after the dying out of the unlocal Ministry, that is, Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, (Acts xiii, 1, 3) "they would act alone in the institution to local office." That they did so is proved by the statement of Jerome to the effect, that to the time of Dionysius (A. D. 249-265) the Alexandrian Presbyters always appointed their own Bishops, Lightfoot seeing here consecration as well as appointment (Essay CM), a conclusion made almost certain by the directions of the Canons of Hippolytus, from whose ruling Principal Lind-

say rightly claims that a Presbyter could ordain a Bishop. (Wordsworth, MC, pp. 128, 136; Lindsay, CM, p. 246.)

Here we must call attention to an elaborate review of this whole question undertaken by the late Dr. Fulton in a series of articles published in *The Church Standard* for 1902 (March—May.) Unfortunately these papers were written with a carelessness and an unwarranted assurance not usually visible in the statements of one who was justly recognized as a scholar. In the issue of May 17th, he wrote: "The record of the New Testament shows that, certainly in some Churches, and therefore probably in others, the threefold Ministry was either instituted by the Apostles or came into existence with their sanction." From his previous article in the issue of March 15th, we know he referred to the appointment of Timothy and Titus by St. Paul to certain work. He wrote, "St. Timothy is settled as the ruling Minister in a single city—the prototype of that See Episcopate which speedily became normal throughout the Church; while, in the commission of St. Titus we have the first and only Scriptural example of a member of the same Ruling Order holding jurisdiction over a whole island, the prototype of a Territorial Episcopate . . . Of the spread of this same Ruling Order within the apostolic period, and clearly under apostolic sanction, the New Testament furnishes another plain proof," and he refers here to the Angels of the Churches in Rev. i. Against this unwarranted view is arrayed the best scholarship, headed by Lightfoot, who

with regard to Timothy and Titus, says, "St. Paul's own language implies that the position which they held was temporary." (CM.) Professor Gwatkin says, "Neither Timothy nor Titus is a permanent official, and Titus is not connected with any particular city. They are rather temporary vicars apostolic, sent on special missions to Ephesus and Crete. The letters by which we know them are (2 Tim. 4. 9; Tit. 3, 12) letters of recall, and there is no serious evidence that they ever saw Ephesus or Crete again . . . the angels are praised and blamed for doings of their Churches in a way no literal Bishop justly can be. It is safer to take them as personifications of the Churches." (Ch. Gov—HBD.) The foregoing is the conclusion of most scholars, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, which entirely disposes of Dr. Fulton's assured basis of the origin of the threefold Ministry. Taking his stand on the position which he unwarrantably gave to Timothy, Titus, and the Angels of the Churches, he declared, "It may fairly be claimed, in accordance with the terms of the Preface to the Ordinal, that not only from, but during, the Apostles' times, there were three clearly distinguishable orders of Ministers in Christ's Church." The fact is, that there are not *three* orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, despite the statement in the Preface to our Ordinal, Lightfoot himself, while he maintained the accuracy of this Preface, asserting that between Bishops and Presbyters there is "a substantial identity of Orders." (CM.) For the meaning of the term Orders in this Preface, Cran-

mer's opinion must be consulted in his works, where we shall see that he uses the term "order" as synonymous with office or degree. He himself wrote this Preface, and he had definitely declared his belief in only two Orders, for he was one of the Bishops who composed the Formularies of Faith in which this belief is stated.

And now we have to call attention to another glaring mistake made by eminent Anglican writers. Bishop Harold Browne asserts, "there is no example of ordination being entrusted to Presbyters only." (39 Articles p. 553.) Bingham made the same statement. On the contrary, however, there are many instances of this. Hatch (Organ. Early Chris. Chs. p. 110.); Wordsworth (MG, p. 166); Encyc. Brit. (Celestine V), give examples where Orders have been conferred by Presbyters and others apart from Bishops. The famous scholar Dean Field, of Gloucester, maintained that "the power of ordination exists in the Presbyter;" (Bsp. Dowden-Theol. Lit. Ch. Eng., p. 80) while Bishop Wordsworth declines to acquiesce in the position that their co-operation in ordination is a mere witnessing to the fact. (MG, p. 169.) Bishop Lightfoot, commenting on the ruling of the council of Ancyra (A. D. 314), shows that at that time, ordination by Presbyters only depended upon Episcopal sanction. (CM.) But the ruling of the Canons of Hippolytus shows unmistakably that Presbyters *did* ordain alone without the presence of a Bishop, nor must we neglect to add, that Bishop Wordsworth can say no more of this

presence than that it was "necessary, at any rate *after* the decision in the case of Colluthus in A. D. 324." (MG, p. 169.)

Regarding these Canons, however, Dr. Fulton, discussing the question of the exclusive right of a Bishop to ordain, claimed that one of the very oldest canons which has come down to us from the Primitive Church, known as "apostolical," reads: "Let a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops." He quotes Beveridge as asserting that this code, "The Apostolic Canons"—was collected substantially in its present form before the termination of the second century. Dr. Fulton expressed himself as of the opinion that the canon quoted was amongst the oldest of the code. He was wrong, however, all through. Bishop Wordsworth shows that the "Apostolic Canons" cannot be earlier than A. D. 341, or much before A. D. 400. Now it is true that part of this ancient document goes back into an earlier age, somewhere between A. D. 140 and 180, but the canon in question formed no part of this earlier portion. Such a rule, while practiced to some extent in the third century, is first found formulated in the canons of the council of Arles, A. D. 314. Had Dr. Fulton only looked more thoroughly into the matter, he never would have made such a mistake as he unwittingly committed. In the earlier fragment of the later canons, there is a reference to "three men" as appointed in the little congregation to assist in selecting a *Pastor*. In them, Harnack finds "the anticipation of the much later rule that the consecration of a Bishop requires the pres-

ence and co-operation of the three neighboring Bishops.” (Lindsay, *ib.*, p. 178. ff.) There is, however, a document dating from the end of the second century. It is the lost Roman Order, the Canons of Hippolytus, which Dr. Fulton fails to treat with the weight of importance it calls for, while he entirely misstates its significance. It is a document which shows that there was as yet no difference recognized in the one order of Presbyter-Bishops. It directs that there shall be a Bishop to whom the exercise of ordaining shall belong, as this is not permitted to Presbyters, because the power of ordination is not given to him. (*i. e.*, The Presbyter.) But it must be noted, that in case of the election of a Bishop over the body of Presbyter-Bishops, one of themselves is to be chosen to perform the act of ordination. In the words of Principal Lindsay, to which I have already referred, “one of the Bishops or one of the Elders of the congregation, was selected to perform the act of ordination,” owing to which he says in his “index,” under “Elder,” “could ordain a Bishop;” and under “Bishop,” “ordained by Elders,” p. 246. We see therefore, that notwithstanding the statement respecting the power of ordination not being given to a Presbyter, we are not to infer from this that a Presbyter never possessed the power and right to ordain. On the contrary, we see here a plain indication that a power once belonging to Presbyters, and still to be exercised by them in the case of an ordination of a Presiding-Bishop, had at some time been *restricted* to the latter, except when he himself was

the person to be ordained. That we are here correct is seen in the case of Timothy, ordained equally by the Presbyters as by St. Paul. (I Tim. iv:14; II Tim. i:6.) Nor must it be forgotten that the New Testament indicates by this incident that there is but one ordination to the local Ministry proper, the Deacons not being Ministers in the sense of the Elders. Timothy was not ordained *twice*, so that whatever was conferred upon him by which he became entitled to ordain to the Ministry, had been conferred equally by Presbyters as by an Apostle. It follows from this that Presbyters have a share in the bestowal of an office to which the function of ordination belongs. This being so, it follows logically that they themselves possess the right and power to ordain. That they did exercise this power is proved by the canons of Hippolytus; the practice of the Church of Alexandria; and the decrees of the Council of Ancyra. Ignatius tells us, that apart from the Bishop "it is not lawful to baptize," etc. (Epis. Smyrneans.) But upon what authority? Philip knew of no such restriction when he baptized the Samaritans (Acts viii, 12). Ignatius tells us himself, that it was not owing to any man's influence, but to that of the Spirit (Epis. Phil.). We see therefore that the restriction of ordination to Bishops, as in the case of Baptism, was the outcome of the growth of the Episcopate as differentiated from the Presbyterate, and not of an apostolic action or influence. We have thus arrived at the point when it may be asked—What is the actual value of Episcopacy, since under the title of "the Historic Epis-

copate," it has been put forward by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion as a *sine qua non* to Christian union (The Quadrilateral)?

First, however, it is necessary to bear in mind that, owing to the phrase "the Historic Episcopate," there is an added feature to be considered, as it is not merely with Episcopacy *qua* Episcopacy that we have here mostly to deal, but with Episcopacy in its historic character. For the sake of clearness we shall therefore first deal with Episcopacy *as* Episcopacy, and then with Episcopacy in that historic transmission owing to which it has been termed the "Historic" Episcopate.

In the report of the Committee of American Bishops to the General Convention of 1886, they included the Episcopate as amongst the principles of Order "committed by Christ and His Apostles to the Church unto the end of the world, and, therefore, incapable of compromise or surrender." These are weighty words coming from such a source, and yet, unless we are mistaken, from the evidence produced in this paper it would seem that the Episcopate was neither given by Christ nor His Apostles, but rather by the Holy Ghost acting at first through individuals, next through separate Churches, and finally through the whole Church by general councils. Thus we have to this end, first the action of Ignatius, then of Churches like those of Rome and Alexandria, and finally of councils like those of 324 and 325 A. D. Episcopacy being thus merely a matter of evolution through secondary causes, there is, consequently, no necessity whatever

to view it as a method of Church government or Order obligatory to the end of the world, or indeed beyond the time when it might warrantably be viewed as having failed to meet the end for which it was instituted. At the same time, it is quite possible to view it as a measure indispensable to meet a present emergency. Episcopacy was originated to preserve the unity of Christendom, and for ages it accomplished this end, thus resulting in a fellowship all Christians are to-day anxious to see restored. May it not be that in once more universalizing amongst all Christian communities the Episcopate originally recognized by the undivided Church as a true Episcopate, lies the readiest and most likely method of restoring the lost Church unity? It would seem so, at least, the majority of Anglicans, Evangelical and Catholic, are of this opinion. But first, where is this Episcopate that can be so universalized; and second, by what method can it be secured by those Churches which to-day are without it? Such an Episcopate is possessed by the Anglican Church, which, owing to her midway position between Catholicism and Protestantism, has been regarded as the link which can alone unite the undivided Church of the future with the undivided Church of the past. In the unbroken continuity of the Episcopate of the Anglican Church we have the Episcopate originally recognized by the undivided Church as a true Episcopate. This then is the value (1) of Episcopacy *qua* Episcopacy, and (2) of Episcopacy with its added character of historicity. Inaugurated originally to preserve first the unity of the local

Church, then of the adjoining Churches, and finally of the Church universal, it came at length to be viewed as the permanent method of preserving the Church's unity. Its failure to this end was conspicuously seen at the Reformation, but it is thought to have been owing chiefly to the fact that by that time Episcopacy had become a prelacy. A Reformed Historic Episcopate, that is to say, an Episcopate connected by an unbroken succession with the Episcopate of the undivided Church, and yet one that is willing to recognize its functions as belonging equally *per se* to every member of the one Order of the Presbyterate of which the Episcopate is but the higher office. Such an Historic Episcopate would, I believe, stand a fair chance of being accepted by non-Episcopal bodies as the solution of the present problem of divided Christendom. An Episcopate presented without this reform, on the assumption that as an apostolic institution its special functions belong exclusively to its own Order, never will be accepted, since such pretensions are not only rejected by the great non-Episcopal bodies as having no warrant either in Scripture or early Church history, but they are equally so rejected by the majority of our own scholars.

All true Christians are longing for some method by which the broken body of our Lord may once more become united. As Anglicans we believe that with the Reform intimated we possess the best system by which this can be accomplished, viz., through Episcopacy, but especially in its historic aspect. Here then is our answer to the question—What is the actual value of Episcopacy?

II.

EPISCOPACY THE ESSE OR BENE ESSE OF THE CHURCH.

IN CLOSING my former paper, I asked the question, "What is the actual value of Episcopacy?" And I replied, for reasons there stated, that it commended itself to Anglicans as the best system by which to re-establish the Church's broken unity into its original one undivided corporate existence. Notwithstanding the evidence I there produced to prove that Episcopacy was not an apostolic institution, but an after development by the Church itself, there are those who may still think that it is of the *esse* of a Church, and was in existence before the Church, as included in the Apostolate. This evidently is the opinion of the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Gore, whose words to this effect I am about to quote. In a series of addresses on "The Christian Ministry," delivered in his Cathedral last Lent, he is reported as having said in one of them (see *Church Times* for March 23rd, 1909): "The idea that the Ministry arose by delegation from the Church was widely popular, and in modern literature had found expression in a work, "The Church and the Ministry," by Dr. Lindsay, of the Free Church of Scotland, the central idea being that the Church was constituted to

frame, and create for itself, to meet its own needs, its own ministerial office. Such an idea was profoundly and thoroughly unscriptural." That Dr. Gore is a scholar of no mean attainments we readily concede, but there are other Anglican scholars, his equals, if not his superiors, who reject this view, and agree with that of Dr. Lindsay. Dean Stanley holds that the Christian Church or Society existed before the institution of the Christian Clergy (Christian Institutions, p. 213). I am perfectly aware that *some* Anglicans put little weight in Stanley's opinions on this subject, but they have a profound respect for Lightfoot and Westcott. The former quotes with approval the statement of Tertullian as follows:

"It is the authority of the Church which makes the difference between the order (the Clergy) and the people. Thus where there is no bench of Clergy, you present the eucharistic offerings and baptize and are your own sole Priest. For where three are gathered together, there is a Church, even though they be laymen." (CM., p. 127, Pub. Whittaker.) That Lightfoot adopts Tertullian's opinion as his own, is made clear by his previous remarks, "As the Church," he says, "grew in numbers . . . it became necessary to provide for the emergency by fixed rules and definite officers" (p. 10). Stanley asserted that "In the beginning of Christianity there was no such institution as the Clergy, and it is conceivable that there may be a time when they shall cease to be." (ib., p. 213.) To a High-Churchman, such a statement is foolish heresy, nevertheless, it is the opinion also of Lightfoot.

“The only Priests,” he tells us, “under the Gospel designated as such in the New Testament are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood,” and he adds, “An emergency may arise when the spirit and not the letter must decide, the Christian idea will then interpose, and interpret our duty. The higher ordinance of the universal priesthood will overcome all special limitations. The laymen will assume functions which are otherwise restricted to the ordained minister.” (ib., pp. 121-146.) Thus he concluded, as touching the ordained Minister, “his functions cannot be absolute and indispensable.” (p. 145.)

In view of such statements as the above, assertions of “The Divine right of Episcopacy;” “The Necessity of the Threefold Ministry to the valid constitution of a Church,” seem absolutely absurd, to say the least. If it should be said that, after all, what I have quoted from Lightfoot represents the private opinion of but one or two eminent scholars, it can be shown on the contrary that they are with few exceptions the conclusions of the scholarship of the Anglican Church from its Reformation till the present time, voiced by Westcott in his comment on the ministerial commission given by Christ in John xx, 19-23—“The commission and promise were given, like the Pentecostal blessing, which they prefigure, to the Christian Society, and not to any special Order in it.” (The Revelation of the Risen Lord, pp. 81, 82.) Thus, Plummer, in “The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges,” says, “The Commission therefore in the first instance is to the Chris-

tian community as a whole, not to the Ministry alone," (St. John, p. 363). Strong and convincing as the testimony of scholarship undoubtedly is, Bishop Gore takes us directly to Scripture, the final source of all authority in the matter. Let us therefore pass over the opinion of the scholars and go directly to Scripture, that we may see for ourselves whether it affords evidence for Bishop Gore's assertion, that the idea that the Church possesses the power to appoint its own Ministry to meet its own needs, is "profoundly and thoroughly unscriptural." Or whether Lightfoot, Westcott, Plummer, etc., give the truer sense of its teaching.

Bishop Gore's school views our Lord's words, "Go ye therefore and make disciples . . . baptizing them . . . teaching them . . . lo I am with you always" (Matt. xxviii, 19) as the bestowal of mission and authority upon His Ministry. (Stanley-Catholic religion p. 18.) But all commentators agree that these words were addressed to the five hundred disciples at the mount in Galilee (Hammond, Geikie, Lindsay, etc). These five hundred, therefore, represent the first gathering of the Church before its absolute inauguration on the day of Pentecost. Consequently, excepting the "Twelve" we have the commission to baptize and preach and to bring into the Church, given to mere laymen. This is what they actually did at Antioch, where the Church was first established by laymen independently of the Apostles or even Prophets. (Acts. xi, 19, 21, 22-26; Thatcher, The Apostolic Church, p. 43; Lindsay, The Church and the

Ministry, p. 24; Sanday, the Conception of Priesthood, p. 46.) Even the administration of the "Breaking of Bread," otherwise "The Lord's Supper," as indicated by Tertullian, was undertaken by laymen, for in the first instance the breaking of the bread was done at the house by the Head of each household. (Acts. ii, 46, R. V.; Stanley, Christian Institutions, p. 44; Lindsay ib., p. 43; Allen, Christian Institutions, p. 522; Wordsworth—MG, pp. 103, 306, 331.)

The mistake scholars such as Gore have made in this matter is in their viewing the original Apostolate as the exclusive source of ministerial authority. They entirely overlook the fact that the Apostolate, like the Prophetic office, belonged to the temporary, or, as Professor Gwatkin calls it, "the unlocal Ministry." Lightfoot emphatically asserted, "the opinion . . . that the same officers in the Church who were first called Apostles came afterwards to be designated Bishops, is baseless." (CM, p. 30.) This local Ministry, which included Apostles, Prophets, Teachers, etc., owed its appointment directly to the Holy Ghost and not to any direct appointment by the Lord, except in the case of the original "Twelve" (Acts xiii, 1-3; Cor. xii, 28; Eph. xi, 20; iv, ii.). The *Didache*, a document of the first part of the second century, supports Tertullian's assertion, that the congregation could appoint its own Ministry if necessary. "Appoint for yourselves," it says, "Bishops and Deacons worthy of the Lord" (xv, 12). This, with other data, is conclusive that in the first stage of the Church's history, it did, or could,

appoint its own Ministry without any reference to any previous apostolic institution. (See Sanday-Con. Priest, p. 72.)

During the time of the controversy raised over the remarks made by the late Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Perowne, touching the equality of Presbyters and Bishops, the Rev. W. J. Hill, in a letter to *The Guardian* (March 1, 1899), which paper was flooded with similar letters at the time, claimed that the Church of England holds that "Episcopacy is not merely the *bene esse* but of the *esse* of a Church." In proof of his assertion he referred to the two cases of Whittingham and Travers. These two cases, however, are seldom understood by those who make use of them. Whittingham was not even in Genevan Orders, as he had never had hands laid upon him, or been called to the Ministry except by election. He was therefore a mere layman, and had himself scrupled about his officiating as a minister, but was overruled by Calvin. With regard to Travers, the objection against him taken by Archbishop Whitgift was not on account of his orders *per se*, but because they were not such as the laws of England required for ministering in the English Church. Moreover, Travers actually was ejected not on the ground of his Orders, but for breaking an order of the Advertisements. (Short His. Ch. Eng., p. 247.) He had been nominated for Master of the Temple by Lord Burghley, Secretary of State, and Aylmer, Bishop of London. The latter evidently, although one of the leading English Bishops, had no objection to his Genevan Orders, and

it is further unlikely that Whitgift would have objected had Travers himself not been strongly averse to Episcopacy, a fact well known to the Archbishop. However, after he left the Temple he was appointed Provost of the newly founded Trinity College, Dublin. Professor Abbott, of Trinity College, Dublin, wrote me in May, 1898, of this appointment as follows: "It was not necessary for the Provost to be in Holy Orders. No doubt the case of a man who claimed to be in Orders was not quite the same as that of an acknowledged layman, as the former might be expected to perform clerical duty. I know of no records showing whether Travers actually did officiate clerically, but I think that there can be no doubt that he did so. . . . You will observe that notwithstanding Whitgift's objection (which he had previously raised when Travers was named as possible Master of the Temple), he never silenced him until he as a lecturer contradicted in the evening what Hooker had preached in the morning. This was a case expressly provided for by the Canons, and, accordingly, for this he was silenced, the objection to his Orders being no doubt repeated, but being no new thing."

Now this explanation by Professor Abbott is extremely important, for it shows *definitely* that Travers was silenced not because of his Orders in themselves, but because he had entered into a controversy in the Church, and this especially with the purpose of contrasting Presbyterianism to its advantage as against Episcopacy. It has often been said that while many writers admit that men have held

appointments in the English Church having only Presbyterian Orders (Bps. Barry, Short, etc.), of the cases alleged, "not one of them is an instance of a valid, open and authoritative admission of a person not properly ordained to a 'cure of souls,' in this country, nor can even *one* such case be produced." (Denny-Anglican Orders, p. 198.) The fact is, however, that not only eminent authority, such as Cosin, Keble, etc., conceded that such *have* held cures in the Church of England, but the names of several can be absolutely produced. For instance, there is the case of De Laune, a French Protestant, whom Bright concedes in his volume, ("The Roman See in the Early Church," 479), to have been instituted to a benefice during Bishop Overall's time (1618), without reordination, and several others could also be named, such as Saravia. (See Saravia-Hadrian-Dict. Nat. Biol., where may be seen Bishop Morton's written refusal to reordain pastors of the reformed Churches.) Notwithstanding, however, that the majority of the lesser Clergy of the Anglican Church to-day, together with some few of her scholars, such as Bishop Gore, hold that Episcopacy is the *esse* of a Church, the present Bishop of Durham's repudiation of that doctrine (Dr. Moule—*The Guardian*, January 22nd, 1902), supported by Canon Sanday (Con. Priest, p. 95), can easily be shown to be the conclusion of the majority of Anglican *scholars*. This we venture to think that we have here done already, and, therefore, to some extent, justified the representation of Bishop Perowne touching the Church of England's view

of or position touching Episcopacy, viz., "she nowhere asserts . . . Episcopal government as necessary to the constitution of a Church" she simply "prefers Episcopacy." In other words, she views Episcopacy as merely the *bene esse* and not the *esse* of a Church. But I used the words "to some extent," because the Bishop indicates not exactly what is, but rather, what *was* the officially implied position of the Church of England touching Episcopacy prior to 1662. At that date, by her revised Ordinal and Statutory enforced practice, she took another position (see Prefatory Note), a position, however, which has been practically rejected as unwarranted by her best modern scholars. Thus, such an unqualified condemnation of Dr. Perowne's representation by *The Guardian* (Sept. 28, 1892) as I am about to quote, was entirely without warrant. "If the Bishop of Worcester," it is said, with the assurance as though speaking as a representative authority of the Church of England, "had been content to say that he did not know whether Episcopacy was of the *esse* or of the *bene esse* of a Church, we should have no criticism to make of his statement. It is with his readiness to pronounce that it has to do only with the *bene esse* that we find fault, and we do so because such a declaration seems to us wholly inconsistent with the jealous adherence to a polity derived from Apostolic direction, which Lightfoot held to be the true temper of the English Church." Now from what I have said it is plain that *The Guardian* ought at once to have recognized that Dr. Perowne was evidently speaking from the standpoint

of the position touching Episcopacy originally taken by the Reformed Church of England before 1662. Here his explanation of that position is fully warranted, since the Church of England during that period *did* view Episcopacy as merely the *bene esse* of the Church. Thus, notwithstanding our present Ordinal, the Act of Uniformity of 1662, and the recent pronouncement of the Anglican Bishops (The Quadrilateral, 1888), the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, which these formularies plainly teach and which is expressed in the refusal of Anglicans to acknowledge "whether a Christian community which is not governed by Bishops is a Church" (*The Guardian*, *ib.*), "can never be made," says Prof. Sanday, "a doctrine of the Church of England" (Con. Priest, p. 95). But if all this is so, then the Bishop of Worcester was fully justified in viewing Episcopacy as the *bene esse* of a Church, and not the *esse*; while he was further warranted in representing this as the *actual* though not at present the *official* view of the Church of England. Returning to *The Guardian's* reference to Lightfoot's view of Episcopacy. It is strange how the plain statement of a writer can be passed completely over, by those who do not wish to see it, as though it had never been written. Lightfoot himself in 1881 declared that he still adhered to the main positions taken in his earlier work of 1868 on the Christian ministry. Here is one of them. "It is clear then, that at the *close* of the *apostolic age*, the two lower Orders of the threefold Ministry were firmly and widely established; but the traces of the *third* and highest Order, the

Episcopate properly so called, are few and indistinct" (ib., p. 30). The italics of course are ours in order to emphasize the fact that whatever Lightfoot himself thought as touching the date of the introduction of Episcopacy, it was after all a mere matter of deduction and not of positive evidence, since at the close of the apostolic age the traces, he declares, of a separate Episcopate are few and indistinct. Now had he kept to this statement, drawing from it a mere assumption which it alone warranted, not going beyond it to declare that Episcopacy *must* be placed as far back as the closing years of the first century, and that it *cannot* be dissociated from the action of the last surviving Apostles, St. Andrew, St. Philip, and especially St. John (ib., pp. 41, 48, 81) recorded as having lived where, and at the time when, Episcopacy was first originated, he would have been more in keeping with the guarded language of the Preface to our Ordinal. In 1881 he wrote touching the result of his original investigation into the matter of the Christian ministry, "The result has been a confirmation of the statement in the English Ordinal, 'It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the Apostles' times there have been these orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons.'" He then added, "But I was scrupulously anxious not to overstate the evidence in any case." Now the mention of St. John at all, together with St. Philip and St. Andrew, was going beyond actual evidence into the region of pure tradition (Smith's D. B.; Hastings' D. B.).

Episcopacy may undoubtedly have developed before the close of the first century, yet it may have come into existence only within the last ten years of that period, when most probably all the original Apostles were dead, except St. John, who is said by tradition to have lingered on till the very close of the century. If he did, then the Ordinal is correct in stating, that from the Apostles' times, Bishops, Priests and Deacons have existed in Christ's Church. Even if St. John was *not* living at the close of the first century, the Ordinal is still correct, since it says merely "from the Apostles' time," which does not necessarily mean they were alive, but only from the time, or about the time, that they had been alive. The Ordinal intimates no more than this, nor is there evidence to warrant more.

But Lightfoot's opinion is more in accordance with the evidence at hand when he discusses the character of the separation of the separate office of the Episcopate as differentiated from that of the Presbyterate. Here he showed, that while originally the term Bishop and Presbyter had been used to signify one and the same office, the term Bishop had been restricted to the higher office and the term Presbyter to the lower in one and the same order of officials, viz., the Presbytery. Thus the Episcopate was not formed out of the apostolic Order by localization, but out of the Presbyterial by elevation. (ib., p. 32.) The creation of these two offices, however, out of one body of office holders, did not create *two* orders, but merely two offices or degrees in one Order

of Ministers. (pp. 84, 85.) It was Cyprian who raised the Episcopate into a position of absolute independence, the Bishop with him being the indispensable channel of Divine grace . . . the primary condition of a Church. (pp. 102, 107.) Yet the claim of the exclusive right of ordination which finally gave the appearance to the Episcopate of being a separate Order from the Presbyterate, was only fully settled in the fourth century. (p. 89; Wordsworth—MG, p. 169.) Then it was that the Episcopal and Presbyterial offices, being no longer regarded as sub-orders, but as two separate Orders, the correspondence of the threefold Christian ministry to the ranks of the Levitical Priesthood could not fail to suggest itself. (p. 139.) And now a startling fact is presented by Lightfoot which has not received the attention it deserves. He tells us that the completed threefold Order of the Christian ministry supplied the material for a new principle which is nowhere enunciated in the New Testament, viz., the Sacerdotal view of the Ministry (p. 140., cf. 103.) Lightfoot's opinion that a separate Episcopacy was established in Asia Minor by St. John, and other Apostles, may be correct, though for reasons given I do not think it is. Assuming, however, that it is, and that it was because of this that he was led to regard the Episcopate as the backbone of the Church (p. 134; Address, August 1, 1888), by his insistence upon the fact that the only Priests under the New Testament are the Ministers of the Christian brotherhood; (p. 12), by his acceptance of Tertullian's statement, that it is the authority of the

Church which makes the difference between the Clergy and the people (p. 127), he, nevertheless, showed that he was utterly opposed to the Episcopate being viewed as the sole channel of Orders, or in other words, as the *esse* of a Church, but rather as the *bene esse*. And this he showed plainly in his refusal to un-Church non-Episcopal Christian communities, while advocating a jealous adhesion to a polity which he assumed to have been derived from apostolic direction (144.) Thus we have Lightfoot in line with Westcott, Moule, Hort, Hatch, Sanday, Gwatkin and the majority of the scholars of the Anglican Reformed Church past and present in their refusal to regard Episcopacy in any other light than as the *bene esse* of a Church.

III.

CAN A BODY OF CHRISTIAN LAYMEN CREATE ITS OWN MINISTRY?

SUPPLEMENTARY TO EPISCOPACY, THE ESSE OR BENE ESSE OF THE CHURCH.

THE STATEMENT of Bishop Brown, that “a congregation in the time of Ignatius had the right to create its own Episcopate,” was challenged by a critic while the Bishop’s book was yet in MS. It is true

that the statement appears without proof, since, as I have already said, all reference to authorities for statements in the context was left for its Appendix in order that the main argument might read the more smoothly unencumbered by such detail. That the Bishop was on as firm ground in the present as in other statements we shall now endeavor to show.

Bishop Dowden's representation of Richard Hooker as "an acknowledged classic of first rank in English theology," will not, we think, be challenged; so that we may quote his views as carrying great weight with Anglicans. As to the actual necessity of Episcopacy, he says, "When the Church must needs have some ordained and neither hath nor can have possibly a Bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the institution of God hath oftentimes, and may give place. And therefore we are not simply without exception to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles of continual succession of Bishops." These words of Hooker are all the more important in that he declared, from his high notions of Episcopacy, that "the first institution of Bishops was from heaven," and "these cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only Bishops." However, in maintaining that "there may be sometimes very just cause and sufficient reasons to allow ordination without a Bishop," he gave up the whole question as to the indispensability of the Episcopate. Indeed, this followed logically from his conception of the visible Church as "being the true original sub-

ject of all power." Thus it was that he concluded, to quote *through* Bishop Dowden, in the matter of ecclesiastical polity "the living Church possessed the right of determining its own form" (Theol. Lit. Ch. Eng., p. 61, 1 cf. E. P., vii, 14).

Of the same opinion was Archbishop Whately, of "clear and massive intellect" (Ency. Brit.), who reasoned that the Protestant Churches at the Reformation "had full power to retain, or to restore, or to originate whatever form of Church government they in their deliberate and cautious judgment might deem best for the time" (Kingdom of Christ, p. 248 ff.).

In the first part of this Appendix we showed that between the Episcopate and Presbyterate as originally instituted, and for many years subsequently, there existed a substantial identity of Order (Lightfoot, CM, p. 85). They were simply, as Lightfoot holds, two offices in one Order, that of the ordinary Presbyter and that of the presiding Presbyter or chairman of the council of Presbyters. Thus he speaks of James in the Church of Jerusalem as "though holding a position superior to the rest, he was still considered as a member of the Presbytery; that he was in fact the head or president of the college" (ib., p. 34); while he subsequently referred to the Bishop in the later Church of Philippi, as "a mere president of the Presbyterial council" (ib., p. 63). Having traced the growth of the powers of the Episcopate, he concluded, "It is plainly competent for the Church at any time to

entrust a particular office with larger powers" (ib., p. 108). Here he refers to the later authority of the Episcopate over the Presbyterate, and undoubtedly he is correct, but so also is Hooker, who alluded to this increased authority of Bishops as "a sword which the Church hath power to take from them" (EP. viii. v. See also I. xiv; III. x). This brings us to the examination of the origin of Church Government as viewed by Anglican theologians generally.

Prof. Gwatkin voices the conclusion of the general scholarship of the Anglican Church in claiming that of the society which our Lord commanded His disciples to perpetuate, "neither He nor His Apostles ever prescribed any definite form for it;" while he adds that Ignatius himself knew nothing of an Episcopate as instituted by Apostles (Bishop; Church Govern. HDB; Dowden, ib., p. 51). In the absence, therefore, of any apostolic ordinance on the subject (Lightfoot, CM, p. 49), we are left to ourselves to discover, if possible, what were the powers in this direction which may warrantably be assumed as belonging to the Church as distinguished from its Ministry.

Here Westcott holds that the original commission to minister, given in Jno. xx. 19-23, was given to "the Christian society and not to any special Order in it" (Revel. Risen Lord, p. 81). This passage, with Matt. xxviii, 18-20, has been taken as indicating a commission given only to the Ministry which preceded the Church, which only came into existence on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii).

The fact is, however, that in both passages we see the Church instituted and commissioned (Prof. Binnie—"The Church;" Lindsay—"St. Mark," p. 242); while in the Acts we see it empowered with the Holy Ghost for the carrying out of its commission. Now Lightfoot asserts that the only Priests under the Gospel, designated as such in the New Testament, "are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood." He thus regards the Priesthood as springing from the whole body," adding, "so long as this important aspect is kept in view . . . the teaching of the Apostles has not been directly violated" (CM, pp. 12, 131). It is important to remember what Bishop Brown has so correctly insisted upon, that "every member of the human family" is, in the words of Bishop Lightfoot, "potentially a member of the Church, and as such, a Priest of God" (ib. p. 9). The potentiality was definitely confirmed for the first time to the five hundred disciples, *i. e.*, to the first assembled congregation of the Church, when the commission was given to every individual member to make converts whom they themselves were to baptize (Matt. xxviii, 19). And this accords with the testimony of Hilary the Deacon, that "at the first all taught, and all baptized," and he might have added—"all administered the eucharist, which at that time was the closing office of the principal meal eaten at home" (Gwatkin, *Early Church History*; McGiffert-Apos. Age, p. 69). Prof. Gayford, after discussing the ministrations in the early Church, asks, "In whose hands

did this work lie," and he answers, "At the outset the idea of ruling does not appear. Earnest believers came forward and, according as their gifts permitted them volunteered their services in the work of carrying out the necessary arrangements for the community. . . . Those who thus volunteered were accepted by the Apostles in the first instance. . . . According, then, to the ideal of the Christian Church, there would have been no appointed officers, but each Christian would have performed the proper part of the work according to the 'gift' or 'gifts' granted to them" (The Church—HDB.). Prof. McGiffert in expressing similar opinions, adds, "Light is thus thrown upon the way in which the earliest Bishops were selected . . . the Church instinctively chose those who had proved themselves, by their long and faithful services, best fitted to discharge the required functions. Their appointment, in fact, was very likely nothing more in the beginning than a tacit recognition by their brethren of their call to serve the Church as they were already doing, and only gradually did such recognition develop into regular choice and induction into office" (ib., p. 666). How thoroughly all this accords with Tertullian's statement already referred to as quoted with approval by Lightfoot, that it was the authority of the Church which makes the difference between the Clergy and the people, so that when there are no clergy the people may appoint their own Priest. We now also see how Hatch was justified in saying, that "Church officers were

originally regarded as existing for the good of the community," and he then added, touching their appointment, that this was similar to that of civil officers whose appointments were considered ratified by the mere entrance upon their duties. Thus he concluded, "There was no formal act of admission" (*Organ, Chris. Ch.*, pp. 125, 131).

Now the above opinion as to the congregational origin of the Christian ministry is not only warranted by the fact that the commission to preach and baptize was given to the Church and not to its Ministry, but we further actually possess an early and definite example of the exercise of this warrant by the Church. The *Didache*, a document of the early years of the second century, directs the people to appoint for themselves Bishops and Deacons. By some this direction has been thought, from the significance of the word used for appoint, to indicate merely a choice or selection of certain persons for office by the show of hands, nothing being said as to the mode of appointment to the said office (*Allen—Chris. Institu.*, p. 60). Others have gone further and intimated that we have here an actual repetition of the original direction in Acts vi, 3. "Look ye out men of good report whom we may appoint" (*Taylor—Didache*, p. 135). In both cases this conclusion of course is drawn from the word *cheirotoneo* as though it indicated merely to elect by show of hands. Professors Hitchcock and Brown, however, give examples showing that this word, in New Testament times,

meant equally *definitely* to appoint to office, thus, notwithstanding that Hort sees in the verb *cheirotoneo* as used in Acts xiv, 23, not an act of solemn appointment, but a preceding choice, a mere election (Christian Ecclesia), a view endorsed by Swete (Laying-on-of-hands-HDB), we agree with the two former scholars that in the *Didache* xv,i, we have a definite direction given to the congregation to appoint their own Bishops and Deacons, and here we are not only supported by the AV, which runs—When they had *ordained* them Elders, and the RV, which runs—When they had *appointed* for them Elders, but Prof. Gwatkin does not hesitate to see in Acts xiv, 23, a definite appointment, although without the laying-on-of-hands (Ordination HDB). This conclusion seems all the more warranted by the fact that at first the Ministry seems to have been included amongst the spiritual gifts, those leading by common consent who possessed the ability. Thus Paul, in his earliest epistle, calls for due recognition being given to those thus naturally placed in the position of leaders, viewing them as a sort of local Ministry which at that time was without any technical designation. They are simply “those that are over (*proistamenous*) you in the Lord” (1 Thes. v, 12; 1 Cor. xii, 28; Rom. xii, 7). “The allusion here,” says Prof. Allen, “may be to those who later became known as the Presbyters or Elders” (Chris. Insti., p. 24). The writer of the Acts, however, definitely represents that from the first Paul and Barnabas appointed Elders in the Churches they founded.

There is evidently a difficulty here, since, had this been so, St. Paul could hardly have referred to these leaders, these men *set over* the rest (as the word used implies) by their special gift of ruling, without designating them by their distinctive title of Elder or Bishop. This difficulty, however, vanishes at once if we see in these leaders of I. Thes. v, 12, and Rom. xii, 7, the Presbyters of Acts xiv, 23, men who only *later* became technically known as Elders from the time when Paul first referred to the definite local Ministry under the distinct titles of Bishops and Deacons. These titles appear for the first time in the Epistle to the Philippians (II.), a document written between A. D. 60-63, and here the title "Bishop" is equivalent to "Presbyter," as is clear by comparing verse 17, with verse 28, of Acts xx. Paul and Barnabas founded their first Churches in A. D. 45, and the Acts was not written until A. D. 64 at the earliest. By this time the definitely appointed local rulers were known by the distinctive title of Bishops or Elders. Thus the author of Acts applies to the men appointed by Paul and Barnabas to be leaders in their first established communities, a term only *later* adopted as the distinct title of such officers. They were not at first definitely appointed with a solemn ordination which included the laying-on-of-hands, but by the mere selection by the Apostles as men best suited from their natural gifts to preside over the newly founded Churches. This is the reason why the term *cheirotone-santes* is used for their appointment and not *katastesomen*,

or *ḡatasteses* as in Acts vi, 3, and Tit. i, 5, which meant an actual placing into office. I do not forget that I previously accepted the first word as used in the *Didache* as also signifying an actual placing into office, but I meant that while I so accepted it in conjunction with Professors Hitchcock and Brown, the appointment there, as evidently also in Acts xiv, 23, was consummated by mere *election* without the laying-on-of-hands, although it most likely was accompanied with prayer and even fasting, as in the case mentioned in the Acts.

If the foregoing reasoning has been correct, then the direction in the *Didache* addressed to the congregation to appoint their own Bishops and Deacons meant exactly what is said, viz., that they, without further intervention, could appoint their own officers. Nor is there anything here to surprise us, since it naturally follows from the fact that, as we have shown, to the Church and not to any special Order within it was given the commission to teach and baptize. We have shown that at the first laymen were *commissioned* to preach and baptize. We have shown that from the first laymen were *viewed* as possessing the power to baptize and administer the communion (Ter. De Corona, iv), while they also founded Churches. as in the case of the Church of Antioch, where the Church at first had, as Sanday says, little to do with the Apostles *qua* Apostles (Con. Priest., p. 46). Laymen of Cyprus and Cyrene founded the Church of Antioch, to which a great number was added through the preaching and evi-

dently baptism by these same laymen (Acts xi, 20 ff). They evidently also in many cases must have appointed their own permanent Ministry, as Gayford, McGiffert, and other scholars conclude, for if, as we see, they assumed to themselves the right of ministering, they equally must have assumed that they could appoint their own definite Ministers. That the Apostles proper, the "Twelve," appointed the first definite officials in the Church with the laying-on-of-hands; and that later Paul, an Apostle, laid his hands on Timothy at his ordination by Presbyters, does not in the least show that the complete appointment of the Ministry did not rest with the Church itself. The unique position of the original twelve Apostles as having been specially instructed by Christ, naturally made them the leaders and initiators wherever they happened to be. Of the Churches founded by an Apostle, says Prof. Gwatkin, "he would choose their first officials, start them in the right way," but he adds, "There is no sign that he took any share in their ordinary administration.

. . . In general the Apostle was not a regular ruler in the same sense as a modern Bishop, but an occasional referee like the visitor of a college" (Apostle—HDB). Prof. Sanday expresses a similar opinion. He views the leadership of the Apostles as accorded to them more out of deference to the supposed fact of their having been exclusively invested "from the first with powers of which there is no trace" (Con. Priest., p. 42, cf. 45, 47, 49). Nor does he neglect to refer to that larger apostleship

which was the direct outcome of 'Spiritual gifts' (ib., pp. 49, 64), owing to which scholars like W. R. Smith (Apostle—Ency. Brit.), and Principal Lindsay (Ch. and Min., p. 74), look upon the Apostleship not as a Church office, but as a *charisma*, similar to prophecy." Thus, where there was no Apostle, the Churches, composed solely of the Laity, could apparently act upon their own initiative without the aid of a Ministry of any character, simply through the agency of "those whom the Church most trusted," to again quote Sanday (ib., p. 72). Indeed, this we have not only shown to have been possible from the nature of the commission given to the Church, but we have also produced examples where this commission had been so interpreted. Having, therefore, elsewhere shown that from the first Presbyters ordained without the presence of a Bishop, we have independently proved the accuracy of Sanday's statement that some of the earliest Churches had passed "through a Presbyterial and even a congregational stage" (The Expositor. III., viii, p, 335, 1887).

With all this before us we are not surprised that Lightfoot concluded his famous essay on the Christian Ministry with the clear statement, that while "it may be under ordinary circumstances a practically universal law that the highest acts of the congregational worship shall be performed through the principal officers of the congregation . . . an emergency may arise when the Christian ideal will then interpose and interpret our duty. The higher ordinance of the universal Priesthood will overrule all special limitations. The laymen will assume

functions which are otherwise restricted to the ordained Minister " (CM, p. 145, 146).

We headed this paper with the title " Can a Body of Laymen Create its own Ministry? " for this is what Bishop Brown has asserted in his statement " a congregation had the right in the time of Ignatius at the beginning of the second century to create its own Episcopate." We stated at the outset that the Bishop was here standing upon firm ground, and we cannot but think that we have now proved this to have been the case. A congregation not only in the time of Ignatius had the right to create its own Episcopate, but we have further shown that a congregation of Christians had the right at all times, from the beginning to the present time, to create not only its Episcopate, but its entire Ministry, if such were needed. Ignatius had declared that " where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church," but he had in mind the Bishop as impersonating Christ (Epis. Smyr.). On the other hand, Tertullian claimed, " Where two or three laymen are, there is the Church." (De Exhort. Castit., VI.) Now Christ Himself had asserted, " Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them " (Matt. xviii, 20). Was not Tertullian more in harmony with Christ than was Ignatius? It is not the Ministry, but the Priesthood of the body which binds us to Christ, and through which the Church possesses the right and power to create or reorganize its Ministry at any time to meet its own needs.

IV.

THE CANONS OF HIPPOLYTUS AND A REPUBLICAN EPISCOPATE.

IN MY article on the Origin of Episcopacy, I said, (1) the Canons of Hippolytus, (2) the practice of the Church of Alexandria, and (3) the decrees of the Council of Ancyra, showed that originally Presbyters, apart from Bishops, were viewed as possessing the power to ordain, a power they had freely exercised until the opening of the fourth century. The Rev. Darwell Stone, D. D., Librarian of Pusey House, Oxford, however, in a recent series of lectures on "The Church," in Lecture IV (sec. III, IV), reported in the *Church Times*, Dec. 3, 1909, endeavors to belittle the entire testimony of these Canons of Hippolytus by criticising some of its provisions, which were evidently of a temporary character. And he finally sums up this lecture by asserting that as non-Episcopal Churches lack the possession of "an historical succession from the Apostles by means of the Episcopate (Sec. IV), . . . we cannot see that they possess the guarantee which we believe that Episcopacy affords of the Covenant of God" (Sec. VI). He means, as is evident, an unbroken Episcopacy of apostolic origin.

Here then we have the latest utterance on the essential character of the Episcopate by a recognized exponent of

the "Catholic" school of thought in the Church of England. We are not surprised that Dr. Stone puts the non-Episcopal Churches *outside* the Covenant of God as revealed in the New Testament. Bishop Gore in his famous work on "the Church and the Ministry" did not scruple to do the same thing, and both writers are merely explaining the view of the "Catholic" party in the Anglican Church touching the position of the great Protestant bodies. No wonder, with present talk of unity in the air, we are inundated with booklets and tractlets written by members of this school, plainly stating that if any authorized overtures of corporate union with non-Episcopal bodies should be issued by the authorities of the Protestant Episcopal Church which ignore this aspect of the question, its result would be the splitting up of our Church into fragments.

Now Bishop Brown's present book on "Unity" not only refrains from mentioning what to us appears to be such a monstrously preposterous assumption, but the entire drift of his argument is in word and thought utterly opposed to any such conception. It is then of the utmost importance that we should consider the ground upon which Dr. Stone mainly bases his assertion, since the view he maintains stands in the way of any possible consideration on equal terms of the subject of Christian union by Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches. I use the expression "equal terms" advisedly, because otherwise any hope of a mutual consideration of this subject by these Churches is a vain dream. Dr. Stone, after accepting the evidence

from the East as expressing his view of Episcopacy, examines that of the West. He begins by admitting that it has received two interpretations as follows:

(1) "The chief authority was at first a college of Ministers, all of whom had received by consecration, in an historical succession from the Apostles, the Episcopal character, who consecrated successors to themselves to hold a position like their own; and at a later time only one of them received the Episcopal character and became a Monarchial Bishop, while the rest received the reduced authority of the Presbyterate."

(2) "There was from the first the single rule of a monarchial Bishop who alone consecrated and ordained, and the Presbyters, as a distinct Order, were always in the second rank. The balance of evidence is very strongly in favor of the second interpretation."

Now both interpretations Dr. Stone assumes to result in practically the same character of ministerial succession. Unfortunately, however, neither is supported by Scripture, nor the teaching of the Early Church, while the first is utterly opposed to the conclusion of general scholarship.

By the phrase 'college of Ministers' Dr. Stone means a 'college of Bishops.' In other words, that the Bishops and Deacons everywhere appointed by the Apostles in the New Testament were not Presbyters at all as we understand the term to signify, but Bishops in the present sense of the word; except that they all rule in common, and not one singly.

This is not by any means the first time that such a view of the New Testament Presbyterate has been put forward to support the "Catholic" conceptions of the Episcopate. Bishop Wordsworth, in his "Ministry of Grace," views the early Presbyters of Rome and Alexandria as "a college of Bishops with a chairman, rather than a college of Presbyters with a President of a superior order." We can trace this thought earlier still, for Hammond, in his New Testament Commentary, represents the Presbytery which assisted St. Paul to consecrate Timothy, as composed of "Bishops or Apostolic men," adding, "for Presbyters did not ordain Bishops." (I. Tim. iv, 14 of Acts xi, 30, b.) According to Hammond, therefore, Timothy was made a Bishop *by* Bishops, and this is what he actually says, so that according to him we are not to see any Presbyters present at all at Timothy's consecration by St. Paul. The best scholarship, however, sees in the Bishops of the New Testament mere Presbyters, all equally possessing the exclusive functions of the later Bishop. (Timothy; SBD; HBD; Cam. Bib.) According to Dr. Stone's first interpretation, the Presbyterate, or second order of the Ministry, was developed out of the first, the Episcopate, by restrictive measures being passed which limited certain functions to one of its members, which had previously been exercised equally by all. But this would make the Presbyterate of sub-New Testament origin, whereas Sanday voices the conclusion of general scholarship when he says of the "Elder" or "Presbyter," "we find the office existing in the Church at Jeru-

saalem at the time when St. Paul and St. Barnabas arrive with contributions from the Church of Antioch." (Con. Priest, p. 59). So Daniel, in his well-known Commentary on the Prayer-Book, says, "Elders are again mentioned in connection with the Church at Jerusalem in Acts xxi, 18, where St. Paul is represented as presenting himself on his arrival to St. James, all the Elders being present." (p. 419.) It would indeed be strange reading were we to substitute the term *Bishops* for Elders, and read "all the *Bishops* being present." Dr. Stone, and his school, by their forced explanation of the character of the New Testament Presbyterate, would make the first order of the Ministry, the Episcopate, to precede the second, the Presbyterate. Lightfoot, however, tells us, "It is clear that at the close of the apostolic age the two lower orders of the threefold Christian ministry," by which he means, the second, the Presbyterate, and the third, the Diaconate, "were firmly and widely established; but traces of the third and highest order, the Episcopate, properly so called, are few and indistinct." (CM—Com. Phil., p. 195.) An Order, the traces of which are few and indistinct, can hardly have constituted the definite college of Ministers such as Dr. Stone sees in the first interpretations of the evidence from the West touching the origin of the Episcopate. The truth is, that this first interpretation has no general existence except in minds similar to that of Dr. Stone himself. It was certainly not, as he asserts, accepted by Lightfoot, who viewed Dr. Stone's 'college of Ministers' not as a body

of *Bishops*; out of whom had developed the Presbyterate, but rather as a body of *Presbyters*, out of whom had developed the Episcopate. That Lightfoot viewed them as possessing the functions of the later Episcopate, in no sense alters the fact that he viewed them as a college of Presbyters and not as a college of Bishops. Thus to use his own words he concluded, "that the Episcopate was created out of the Presbyterate." (CM, p. 81.) This conclusion is not only endorsed by Sanday, who after telling us, that "at first the terms *episkopoi* and *presbuteroi* were applied to the same persons," then discusses the problem—"how it was that the plural *episkopoi*, representing a college of Presbyters with equal rights, became a single *episcopus* with superior rights to the rest of the Presbytery" (ib., pp. 61, 62), but it is the only conclusion possible in view of the express statement of the Canons of Hippolytus, and the practice of the Church of Alexandria. It was the conclusion also adopted by the Dean of Westminster, Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, in his famous sermon on "the Vision of Unity" delivered to the members of the late Lambeth Conference (*The Church Times*, July 10, 1908, p. 58). Further in his recently published work (*Early History of the Christian Church*), the noted Roman Catholic scholar, Monsignor Duchesne, comes to the same conclusion in dealing with primitive Ordinations generally. Of the part here taken by Presbyters, he says, "they for long retained the power of ordination, which now especially characterizes the Episcopal dignity. The Priests of

Alexandria, in replacing their dead Bishop, not only elected but also consecrated his successor." Thus not only has the foremost scholarship of the Church of England, but also of the Church of Rome, unhesitatingly affirmed that ordination was originally a function belonging to Presbyters equally with Bishops. Nor must we neglect to add that Duchesne's conclusion is but a mere *restatement* of the view previously expressed by another recognized Roman Catholic scholar, Abbé Fouard (St. Peter and the first years of Christianity, p. 201). Thus Bishop Brown's underlying contention in his efforts on behalf of Christian unity, that the Episcopate was developed out of the Presbyterate, whose members originally were viewed as possessing the power to ordain equally with Bishops, and that apart from the Bishop they had long exercised that power, has been shown to be fully warranted.

In view of the above facts, what then are we to make of Dr. Stone's assertion, that "the balance of evidence is very strongly in favor of the second interpretation," viz., "There was from the first a single rule of a monarchical Bishop, who alone consecrated and ordained?" Merely this, that it is an assumption not only without warrant, but one opposed to what few facts exist touching the matter, and the conclusion drawn from them by our best scholars, such as Lightfoot, Perowne, Hort, Sanday, Gwatkin, Robinson and others, including the present Bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Hereford, together with the leading Roman and Protestant writers, such as Duchesne,

Fouard and Lindsay. For the "Catholic" party in the Anglican communion, therefore, to assert that on their view of the origin of the Episcopate the great Protestant non-Episcopal bodies are outside the Covenant of God as related to His Church, or that the Historic Episcopate is essential to the *esse* of a Church, is not only in the first place so monstrous an assertion that it never will favorably commend itself to the general thinking public, but it is further opposed to the teaching of the New Testament and the early Church. It is an idle dream, consequently, for this "party" to hope that unity on their basis will ever be considered for a moment by the non-Episcopal Churches. This is the thought that underlies Bishop Brown's present noteworthy attempt to present a plan for Christian corporate unity. He clearly and correctly sees that the crux of the whole problem lies in the phrase, "A Republican versus a monarchical Episcopate." Bishop Brown, in conjunction with Bishop Moule, believes—as the latter expressed it—"In a moderate Episcopacy," that is, in Episcopacy as the *bene esse* and not the *esse* of the Church. In other words, in a Republican Episcopate. In presenting this aspect of the Historic Episcopate, therefore, as the basis of Christian unity, Bishop Brown is, as I have fully shown, supported by the best scholarship of our Church. The monarchical aspect of the Episcopate, which he so stoutly and justly combats, is utterly opposed to our Lord's own view of the possible future form of the Ministry of His Church. During His lifetime two of His disciples sought His approval of their attempted elevation above

their brethren, only to meet with a stern rebuke. "The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them . . . but ye shall not be so . . . all ye are brethren." (Lk. xxii, 25, 26; Matt. xxiii, 6, 13. RV.) For some time after our Lord's Ascension, this rebuke carried weight. We see this in the fact that while the Apostles were alive, although they were naturally recognized as first in the newly founded Church, they were nevertheless merely the first among equals. Thus the late Prof Allen wrote, "The Presbyters are associated with the Apostles in the government of the Church in Jerusalem as if they stood on equal footing," and he then gives the evidence for this assertion. (Chris. Institu., p. 39). This view of Prof. Allen received full endorsement by Prof. Sanday who refused to see "any special prerogatives of the Apostles" over the Elders. (ib., p. 45.) If with Ignatius, nothing was to be done without the Bishop, even so late as Cyprian, nothing was to be done by the Bishop without his Presbyters. (Harold Browne, xxxix Articles, p. 553.) The monarchical Episcopate may have been necessary at one time owing to the weakness resulting from human infirmities which crept into the Church, but it was a development permitted and not planned by the Head of the Church, similar to the kingship permitted by Jehovah for Israel. It was, as the English Bishops said in the reign of Henry VIII, "devised by the ancient fathers of the Primitive Church." In other words, it was an ecclesiastical expediency to meet what Lightfoot calls "the emergency." (CM., p. 10.) As such it is certainly not

necessary to the constitution of a Church, although it may be to its better government in itself, and as part of the whole Church. A Church without the Historic Episcopate is certainly not outside the Covenant of God in His relation to His Church. Prof. Gwatkin merely reiterates the finding of the best scholarship in asserting, "though the Lord commanded His disciples to form a society, there is no indication that either He or His disciples ever prescribed any definite form of it." (Bishop-HDB.) If this be so, no action of a Church council can be absolutely binding upon the consciences of all large bodies of Christians. Here we are in harmony with Lightfoot, who in his sixth edition of his *Com. on the Epis. to the Phil.*, 1881, asserts, that the only point of importance on which he had changed his opinion was touching the authenticity of the seven Greek letters of Ignatius. He had previously viewed them as forgeries, now he accepted them as genuine. He never changed, however, his view of the character of the Episcopate as therein portrayed. On this he had commented—"It need hardly be remarked how subversive of the true spirit of Christianity in the negation of individual freedom and the consequent suppression of direct responsibility to God in Christ, is the crushing despotism with which this writer's language, if taken literally, would invest the Episcopal Office . . . it is hard to believe that this extravagance would have received the sanction of St. Ignatius himself." (CM., pp. 96, 97.) Lightfoot was wrong since it had not only received his sanction, but it had been used by him. It is this "crushing despotism" of the monarchical

Episcopate which Bishop Brown practically condemns in his advocacy of a Republican *versus* a Monarchial Episcopate, and in so doing he is virtually indorsed by the majority of the writers and students of our Church. It is true that the Ignatian, or as it may be called, the "Catholic" view of the Episcopate at present dominates the Ministry of the Anglican communion, but its warrant is found only in a Mediæval endorsement, as a vital necessity to the life of the Church, of what was merely an ecclesiastical expediency to meet contingencies which may be said to exist no longer. This being so, there is no warrant for the continuance of this expediency, which has failed to prevent divisions in the very Churches which have preserved it, a fact in itself which proves that it has no longer power to promote the object for which it was originally introduced. Thus the monarchial character of the Episcopate must be viewed as having fulfilled its purpose, and it now belongs to a past agency in the Church's development. In any scheme of Christian unity, therefore, which views the Historic Episcopate as essential to its successful fulfillment, the original Republican character of the Episcopate must be recognized as the only form which can claim Scriptural and early Church grounds for its consideration at the hands of the great non-Episcopal Christian bodies. It is with such a character that Bishop Brown proposes in his plan of unity to offer the Episcopate to these Churches, and in doing so, whatever may be thought of his effort by those who perchance may condemn it, this fact will remain, viz., that his plan contains the *only* aspect of the Episcopate

which has any possible likelihood of ever being even considered by the great Protestant bodies, who as a whole are much more in spirit with the rank and file of the Anglican Communion than these are with the Greek and Roman Churches.

In his recent address on "Unity," the Bishop of Vermont declared—"If what are counted distinctive Church principles are wrong, let us acknowledge this boldly and surrender them. . . . If, on the other hand, Church principles are right, we cannot compromise them for the sake of seeming unity."

Now amongst the matters which the "Catholic" party in the Anglican Communion have accepted as a Church principle which is *right*, and which Bishop Hall himself accepts, is the doctrine of Apostolic Succession as the explanation of the term, "the Historic Episcopate." The Bishop of Vermont would accept a Roman or a Greek Priest without reordination, but not a Presbyterian from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Why? Because the two *former* are regarded by him, and the present Anglican authorities at large, as being in Orders according to the view of a *real* Episcopal Church, not so, however, the *latter*. But what again does this mean? It means, that according to the present accepted teaching of the Anglican Church as expressed in her formularies, no one but a Bishop can ordain to the Christian ministry, thus the Methodist Presbyterian having been ordained by a Methodist Bishop is not in Orders at all, and, consequently, must be ordained by a Bishop of Apostolic

Succession before he can be admitted into the Anglican ministry. It has sometimes been asserted that the Anglican Church passes no judgment upon the Orders of the Protestant non-Episcopal Churches, but merely enacts a rule for her own discipline. This, however, is a mistake. If she reordained all alike who came to her, it might be so claimed. But she passes judgment beforehand on non-Episcopal Orders in refusing to recognize them, while she recognizes the Orders of the Greek and Roman Churches. In other words, she accepts the Mediæval view of the "Catholic" party as to the exclusive powers of a monarchical Episcopate, and rejects its original Republican character.

Now let us be perfectly clear on this matter, since we are dealing with the crux of the unity problem. What is the Republican character of the Episcopate? We have already clearly intimated this in what we have said touching the original powers of the Episcopate, the ruling of the Canons of Hippolytus, and the practice of the Church of Alexandria. We have not, however, put it in the form of a definite statement. Well, here it is. A Republican Episcopate is just what the Canons of Hippolytus indicates, an Episcopate created by the Presbyters of the local Church, who upon the death of their Bishop elected and consecrated another to fill his place. This is what could be done *now* if *necessary*, as it was formerly done in the Church of Alexandria, and evidently in the Church of Rome itself according to the said canons, and in other Churches. There is no danger that in conceding

this original character of the Episcopate every non-Episcopal Church will immediately reject the overture of the Anglican Church to give them the Episcopate on the ground that such a gift is unnecessary, since they can create it for themselves. They certainly could, and as an Episcopate merely it would be as good as our own, but it would not be an *historic*, but a *new* Episcopate, and in this fact lies the whole difference. As a new Episcopate it would not be likely to find acceptance at the hands of a Church with an Historic Episcopate. What is required is some ground as a basis of unity which all Churches can agree to accept, or would be *likely* to accept.

Is not this the Historic Episcopate, which can, by its unbroken orderly succession in the Church be recognized as an Historic Episcopate without any question as to the method by which such an unbroken succession was maintained. This is the Republican character of the Episcopate, which is Scriptural, which agrees with the teaching and practice of the early Church, as the majority of our own best scholars concede, and which therefore Bishop Brown now proposes to adopt as the basis of his plan of 'Unity.'

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After I had completed the above third part of my essay, *The Churchman* of New York (Feb. 5th, 1910), came out with a review of Dr. Briggs' just published volume on "Church Unity;" further alluding to it in an editorial, which also referred to the Episcopate, as "a stumbling

block to the unity it was created to conserve." The general intention of the editorial was evidently to protest against the assumption that the Ministry, any kind or any part, is above the Church which organized it for its own service. The writer condemned Dr. Briggs' attempt to solve the problem of unity by validating the Presbyterate as the only source of ministerial succession. Dr. Briggs had maintained that "the Anglican Episcopate has now what it always has had and nothing more, namely, Episcopal succession so far as authority and jurisdiction are concerned, but not so far as any special Episcopal character is concerned. Its Priestly character, so far as it has any, it gets from priestly ordination. The only way in which Anglican orders can be successfully maintained is the same way in which the Orders of other Protestant Churches can be maintained, namely, through Presbyterian succession, which alone transmits the functions of prophecy, priesthood and royalty in all the Churches of the Reformation." The Reviewer of Dr. Briggs' book thinks that the writer had dogmatically asserted an opinion for which he presented scant evidence, and he then himself expressed the opinion that the whole theory of an Historic Ministry transmitted through Presbyters is nothing but an afterthought, for with the turn of the second century there appear to have been no Christian communities in any part of the world which "intended or practiced the transmission of ministerial Orders through Presbyters." His own view of the whole matter appears evidently to be that of the writer of the editorial who apparently objects

to the authority of the Episcopate as set “not only over the rest of the Church’s Order, but over the Church itself.” The evident object of both editorial and review is the presentation of a strong protest against the absolute authority of a Ministry of any kind over the Church which created it. Here both writers are supported by the majority of Anglican scholars, and thus both are justified in condemning what they conceive to be Dr. Briggs’ *unwarranted* attempt to exalt *above* the Church a Ministry derived through the Presbyterate. If, however, I am not greatly mistaken, they have misunderstood and so misrepresented the purport of Dr. Briggs’ real contention, though he may be himself to blame for this, owing to unguarded expressions as to a Presbyterial succession transmitting through its own unbroken Order functions of *any* character. I apprehend that Dr. Briggs does not mean to set any form of Ministry above the Church, but simply to show the real character of the Episcopate in general and the Anglican Episcopate in particular, namely, that after all, what it possesses of presumably unique functions—for he says of its priestly character, “so far as it has any”—has been derived from the Presbyterate. And he is here undoubtedly correct, for this is simply our contention for a Republican versus a Monarchial Episcopate. Bishops *per se* have *no* distinctive character apart from the merest Presbyter. Nor can they possibly be viewed as having such if they form only a higher office in the one Order of Presbyter-Bishops. We have fully shown that Bishops and Presbyters *are* viewed by most ancient and

modern writers as forming but *one* order in the Ministry. If this be so, then Bishops derive whatever powers they possess of ministerial inheritance through a ministerial tactual succession from the Presbyterate out of which the Episcopate was originally evolved. I have fully shown that the Canons of Hippolytus and the practice of the early Church of Alexandria demonstrate that originally the presence of a Bishop was not considered necessary at ordinations, which at that time were performed by Presbyters. Indeed the present Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr. W. E. Collins, in an article in *The Guardian*, Dec. 6th, 1899, entitled, "The Testamentum Jesu Christu," showed that down to the turn of the third century there were several manuals in use in the Church which directed that "a confessor in prison or in chains for the faith" might become a Deacon or a Presbyter without any laying-on-of-hands on the ground that the hand of God had already rested upon him. The study of the early practice of the Church shows, as I have already intimated, that the idea that the Episcopate alone could order the Ministry was a growth similar to that of the Papacy. It seems to me that Dr. Briggs as a scholar was simply maintaining what most scholars are agreed upon, namely, that so far as there is a Ministry that transmits any unique character through an unbroken succession of and by its own Order, *that* Ministry is in the Presbyterate, since the Episcopate merely exercises functions which the study of "Orders" shows to have been originally possessed and exercised by Presbyters. The fact is, however, that there is no such

thing as the transference of exclusive ministerial functions through an unbroken ministerial succession of *any* character. It is of course through the Priesthood that the Ministry receives its authority for the exercise of its functions, as the English Bishops said in the case of Timothy, that he exercised his office, "by the authority of Priesthood." (Form. Hy., VIII.). They were correct, but not by a Priesthood such as they assumed. It is the Priesthood which belongs equally to every member of the Christian Church. A man is not ordered to the *Priesthood*, but rather to the *exercise* of its functions. To this end he is ordained a *Presbyter*, not a *Priest*. Thus it is that Lightfoot insists, "the priestly functions and privileges of the Christian people are never regarded as transferred or even delegated to their officers. . . . The only Priests under the Gospel, distinguished as such in the New Testament, are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood." (CM., p. 12.)

Now this position of the great Lightfoot is exactly that of Bishop Brown underlying his plea for the recognition of a Republican Episcopate, a position which the able Editors of *The Churchman* have already indorsed before the issue of his book. Is not patient scholarship at length winning the day over the great force of Sacerdotal prejudice? Is not the present remarkable "Laymen's Movement" the foreshadowing of Lightfoot's prophecy uttered at the close of his essay on the Christian Ministry, "the emergency may arise when the spirit and not the letter must decide. The Christian ideal will then inter-

pose and interpret our duty. The higher ordinance of the universal Priesthood will overrule all special limitations. The laymen will assume functions which are otherwise restricted to the ordained Minister." (ib., p. 12.) Lightfoot means here not the assumption of *functions*, but the assumption of their *exercise*, and is not this being done in the coming recognition that it is the Church which is above the Ministry, and not the Ministry which is above the Church.

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The foregoing Appendix was written for the text of this volume as presented in the original Manuscript before it was revised by its author. Since then, however, Bishop Brown has rejected the Historic Episcopate entirely, not merely as unnecessary to Church unity, but also as an insuperable barrier to that end. And here he is undoubtedly correct if the acceptance and continuance of the Historic Episcopate is to be viewed as a *sine qua non* to Christian union. In the foregoing "Appendix" we have shown that the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, in other words, the assumed existence of an unbroken Episcopate through its own Order from its original institution by one or more of the Apostles, including its sole right to order the Christian ministry, cannot be proved either by Scripture or early Church history. We have shown that as originally constituted every Congregational Church was viewed from the first as possessing the right and power to institute its own Ministry. Thus, all subsequent forms of ministerial government must be viewed as matters entirely within the

province of each Church or congregation to decide for itself.

If such a conclusion be rejected, then there is no halting place between this rejection and the Church of Rome, that is, for the so-called 'Catholic' fellowship or unity. From the standpoint of a universal Catholic Church, a National Church has no more right to become a law to itself than has an individual Diocese. If it has, then also has a Diocese, and finally each individual congregation. The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America declares that "The visible unity of the body of Christ," in other words the Church, "is not destroyed by its divisions into different Denominations of professing Christians," although it adds, that by these it is "obscured" (p. 6). But if the existence of these separate Denominations does not destroy the actual unity of the body of Christ, this obscuring cannot result from their existence, but rather from a lack of charity which prevents them from affiliating together as one united body of Christians in which every member has the right of full communion in each other's Church. That we are correct is seen in this said Constitution, which further declares that all of these different Denominations where the Word and Sacraments are maintained in their fundamental integrity are to be recognized as "true branches of the Church of Christ," since, "It is according to Scriptural example that the Church should be divided into many particular Churches." But this brings us to consider the nature of schism. Staley, quoting from Newman, represents that 'schism'

is constituted by, among other separate causes, the rejection of the Episcopal government of the Historic Churches by seceding bodies of Christians, those Churches retaining this ecclesiastical regimen alone being in the apostolic fellowship of Acts ii, 42. (Cath. Relig. pp. 36, 62., cf. 21, 23, 35.) But the word "fellowship" in this passage means a community of goods, and has nothing whatever to do with any Apostolic Succession of Orders (Hammond, *in loco*. Further, Prof. J. H. Moulton shows that the word "schism" in this sense is unknown in Scripture, a sense which is also an ecclesiastical perversion of a word which means discord or strife among Christians themselves. (What is Schism? pp. 4, 7, 8.) The Rev. Chancellor Lias in agreement with this, says, "the recognized theological sense of the word 'schism' renders it unsuitable here, where the idea is rather that of division in, than separations from, the Church" (Cam. Bib. I. Cor. i, 10.) Divisions, he intimates, which were caused by lack of mutual affection, in other words, by that lack of charity to which I have already alluded as all that obscures the visible unity of the separated Churches of Christ.

Returning to the Historic Episcopate. We ourselves have long held the opinion to which Bishop Brown has come in the last revision of his manuscript before publication. In an article in the *Protestant Episcopal Review* for June 1897, entitled, "Can Apostolic Succession be proved"—we held not merely that it could *not*, but that in the insistence upon the fourth clause of the Lambeth Quadrilateral for Christian unity we should ultimately be

found "Fighting against God." Bishop Brown's change of view, therefore, calls for no alteration in our "Appendix." We need merely to point out that where we appear to have insisted upon reordination it was only upon the assumption that the Historic Episcopate is essential in any scheme of Christian unity. If that be contended, then reordination logically goes with it. But why should it be deemed essential? With the rejection of the Sacerdotal aspect of the Historic Episcopate by Bishops Lightfoot, Perowne, Moule, Profs, Sanday, Gwatkin, and indeed most of the scholars of our Communion, the Historic Episcopate can only be viewed as essential on two understandings, (1) that it has proved itself indispensable to the unity of the Church, and (2) that all Churches consent to accept the Historic Episcopate with its continuance as forming one of the planks in a platform of unity upon which they would all agree to unite.

Now in the first place, if the Historic Episcopate did not prevent the disruption of the Church's acknowledged visibility in the past, there can be no possible guarantee against a like disruption in the future. Some basis therefore of a different character from, or as not *necessarily* including a particular form of, Church polity, must be sought from which it would be impossible for any member to separate and still be a Christian. Preaching on "Unity" before the University of Cambridge on Jan. 30th, of this year, Canon Wilson, referring to the disbelief the Church was called to face to-day, said, "we cannot, I think, help acknowledging non-Episcopalians as brothers

and allies in the great battle, and welcome them, as they would welcome us, to the one Divinely-appointed sacrament of unity. Surely it is possible for us all to make our Holy Communion a Sacrament of the One Catholic Church of which we all are members, and not the Sacrament of our branch of it. It is the Lord's Supper, not our supper. . . . This would efface schism, while it retains various forms of organization and worship; for there is no schism among those who share in the communion of the Body and Blood, the visible Body and the invisible life, of Christ. Could this be wrong? Can we ignore the voice of God Himself speaking to us in facts, which tell us that Christ-likeness and graces and gifts of every kind are not unequally distributed among our divided Communions?"

If I mistake not, Canon Wilson has here practically supplied the basis referred to. It is *this*, as I interpret his words—The acceptance of Christ as the Incarnate Son of God and Saviour of the World, Who shall be taken, consequently, as the principle of every human thought and action. Every congregation of Christians so believing, and in which the two Sacraments ordained by Christ are administered, shall be viewed as a complete part of the Universal Church of Christ, and as such entitled to send its Pastors at all times, however designated, to act with a central board of Ministers of all Denominations, who in the name of all shall act for all when asked to do so, even in the matter of ordaining candidates for the Ministry sent to them for such purpose by any par-

ticular Church. Such candidate to be for that Church itself, which shall have previously elected and examined him by its own standards. The many details necessary to the harmonious working of any such scheme cannot be entered into here. All I propose now is to offer, in conjunction with Bishop Brown, some general outline for a basis of Christian unity which has a possibility of becoming permanent.

The above naturally brings us to our second understanding, viz., the acceptance by non-Episcopal bodies of the Historic Episcopate, with its continuance as one of the planks in a scheme of Church unity. Bishop Brown proposes that each non-Episcopal Church should create for itself an Episcopate from which members would be sent to act on a central board such as we have suggested. I doubt whether this would be done, although it might be. We think, however, that all non-Episcopal Churches would consent to act with the Episcopal Church in the establishment of many central boards whose duty it would be to look after matters within the particular districts common to all, including, if requested, the ordaining of all candidates for the Ministry within said district. Canon Wilson told the University in the sermon referred to that the time would seem to have come "for a re-examination of the subject of Apostolic Succession; for a statement of the historical evidence for or against the probability of the fact, and the history of the development of the dogma connected with it in its bearing on the grace and powers conferred in Ordination and Consecration." He added,

that it would seem as if our Articles xix and xxiii were expressly drawn up so as to include the full recognition of non-Episcopal Churches, reminding his hearers that "our Canons of 1603 commanded us to pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland; while he showed by Archbishop Tennison's defense of the inclusion of the Church of Scotland in this prayer that it referred to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Referring to the Oxford Movement, with its appeal to the historic continuity of the Catholic Church, he said that further historical research is believed to have shown that the investigation by its efforts "may now be rightly carried back to a still earlier age, and to a still more primitive conception of a Christian priesthood," adding, "Such an examination may show that the approximation now pending between the Episcopal and non-Episcopal Churches may not be an innovation but a reversion to Catholic and primitive principles." Referring to the Lambeth Councils, he said, "Before the next conference meets the Church needs a volume that can be trusted alike for its historical facts and for its analysis of theological principles," and he called upon the University with its wealth of learning to undertake this task.

Surely the above words afford sufficient justification for Bishop Brown's present volume. In the midst of multitudinous cares it was impossible for him to devote the time to systematically marshal the facts upon which he has based his great and timely effort on behalf of Christian

unity. This has been done in the "Introduction" and "Appendix" which accompany his book. The University may produce a volume which will surpass in value the present attempt, but Bishop Brown will have the credit at all events of being the first to respond to Canon Wilson's now famous call for a re-investigation of "The Crux of the Unity Problem," that is to say, of the subject of Apostolic Succession.

V.

BISHOP HALL ON THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY.

A CRITICISM.

FROM THE discussion which followed the amendment of canon xix at the general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1907, and the debates on "Reunion" at the Lambeth Conference of 1908, the need, we are told, was made plain to the Bishop of Vermont "of a careful consideration of First Principles with regard to both the constitution of the Church and the authority of the Ministry." To this study, Dr. Hall informs us, he at once set himself, finally presenting in a

charge to his Diocese at its annual convention of 1910, the result of his two years' investigation. We have read carefully this charge, published under the title of "The Apostolic Ministry," and although we have devoted no little time and thought to its perusal, we have nevertheless failed to find anything of any particular value in its pages. It appears to us to be a very meagre, indefinite, and indeed a somewhat confused restatement of assertions which have long since ceased to affect the general scholar in his attempt to solve the problem at issue. All this, however, is merely our own personal opinion, and as others may have come to a totally different conclusion, we can but give here the reasons which have caused us to take the view stated. This we now hasten to do, leaving the reader free to say how much or how little they justify our opinion of Dr. Hall's two years' research.

In the opening pages (1-6) it is implied, without being definitely stated, that before the establishment of the Christian Church, Christ had instituted its Ministry in His appointment of the Twelve Apostles, with whom, consequently, all subsequent ordering to the Christian ministry exclusively belonged, or, after their decease, to those appointed by them to fill their places. Thus it is the Ministry that makes the Church, and not the Church the Ministry. In justification of this implied assumption, Dr. Hall then enumerates the commissions given to the Apostles by Christ Himself. He begins with that recorded in Matt. xxviii, 18-20, which he represents as given only to the "Eleven" disciples, for while it is conceded that it may have

been given at our Lord's appearance to the five hundred brethren in Galilee, it was nevertheless meant by Him to be addressed to the Eleven exclusively (p. 7., cf. 9, note). But the scene of our Lord's farewell words to his disciples is involved in considerable uncertainty, many of the best scholars viewing it to have been in Galilee, the words then spoken being addressed to *all* the assembled brethren, and not exclusively to the Eleven. This is the opinion of Westcott (Rev. of the Ris. Lord, p. 157), and it is amply justified in the election of Matthias to the Apostolate as one who, in the words of Peter, had witnessed not only the baptism but also the ascension of Jesus. Indeed, he was chosen to fill the place of the deposed Judas on the understanding that he, equally with the Twelve, had been a witness to all the points in our Lord's ministry, and so could bear personal testimony to each well-marked detail. This proves that the commission, "Go ye," etc., was heard by more than the Eleven, and subsequent events showed that it was not heard with any understanding of limitation to any particular persons. Thus teaching with converting was freely undertaken by laymen (Acts xi, 19-21), nor can we exclude the baptizing of their converts, as otherwise their work could hardly have been referred to as the establishing of Churches. That laymen founded the Church of Antioch, with which the Apostles *as* Apostles had little if anything to do, is the testimony of Scripture (Acts, *ib.*), acknowledged by such scholars as Sanday (The Concep. of Priesthood, p. 46), and Thatcher (The Apostolic Ch., p. 43). Who founded

the Church of Rome would appear to be a subject incapable of settlement for lack of evidence. When St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Christians in Rome there was already a strong Church there (Rome-HDB). Aquila and Priscilla appear to have been members of it prior to their meeting with Paul (Aquila-HDB; Moule on "Romans"); while Lightfoot gives reason for thinking that it was not founded by an Apostle (Epis. Rom-SDB), but if not, then it, like the Church of Antioch, was founded by laymen, who, in establishing a Church, both preached and baptized. The preaching, with its accompanying baptism by Philip, was the exercise of rights entirely unconnected with his ordination. This qualified him merely to the "serving of tables" (Acts vi, 2-5). He preached and baptized as a *layman* merely. Indeed, Hatch is undoubtedly correct in representing that at the first, laymen exercised all ministerial functions in the Church, and that they only lost these powers with the development of the official Ministry (Organ. Early Chris. Ch., p. 127). From all this we gather that it is impossible to see in Matt. xxviii, 18-20, a commission given to the Christian ministry alone but rather to the whole body of believers, to be exercised by each, severally, when occasion demands.

And now I come to a matter emphasized by Bishop Hall from the usual ecclesiastical standpoint, which is one, however, which I have long been convinced utterly fails to solve the problem at issue. In viewing the "Twelve" apostles as the special if not exclusive ministerial envoys of our Lord, Dr. Hall intimates that Jesus chose this par-

ticular number of disciples in order that they, as fully knowing of, might bear personal testimony to, His life and Ministry. That, individually, their fitness to be one of this specially elected Twelve included the possession of such knowledge, goes without saying, but that this particular number was ordained merely, or even primarily for the sake of witnessing to that with which they were personally acquainted, finds no support in Scripture. The apostolic number "Twelve," Dean Robinson informs us, bore a symbolic correspondence to the twelve tribes of Israel (Apostle-Ency. Bib.). Of the "Eleven" Prof. Thatcher says, "they still expected to be the great ones in the kingdom, that is, the restored state with its twelve tribes, and hence it was necessary that their broken number should be completed. Their action shows that they thought of their mission as political, and as being directed first of all, if not exclusively, to the Jews." (Apostolic Church, p. 69ff; Acts i, 6, 16-26.)

Now so far as I am aware, no complete attempt in any work intended for the general reader has been made to explain why our Lord chose from His many disciples the two specific numbers of "Twelve" and "Seventy." Doubtless the usual neglect of this investigation is involved in the difficulty of clearly presenting a satisfactory explanation of the New Testament doctrine of the "Parousia," or Second Coming of our Lord. Nevertheless, of this we may be certain, that no attempt to rightly estimate the position of the Twelve apostles in the infant Christian Church, will ever be successful if undertaken apart from

the discussion of the view of the Messianic kingdom as given in the New Testament and known to have been held by the first disciples.

In referring to the speedy return of Jesus to complete the kingdom founded, Prof. Thatcher says of this expectancy, "That this formed a part of the common belief ought to be beyond question" (ib., p. 126). The authors of the article "Parousia" (HDB), say, "The expectation of a speedy Advent of Christ to establish the Messianic kingdom is one of the most prominent features of the Apostolic hope." But how had this hope become a possession of the first disciples? There can only be one answer, viz., from their interpretation of certain statements by Jesus touching this kingdom. Just before the Ascension the disciples had asked Jesus whether at this time He would restore the Kingdom to Israel (Acts i., 6, 7, 11). It must not be forgotten that the Twelve had each been promised a throne from which they should judge the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. xix, 28), so that in their question we can see that they were still thinking of the restoration of an earthly Jewish theocracy (Prof. Lindsay on "Acts"). Prof. Schwartzkopff is of opinion that the historical Jesus never contemplated a mission beyond the Jews, and he infers that the "Eleven" added a twelfth Apostle merely to keep intact their mission as originally bestowed upon the leaders of the first community. Finally, he refers to the emphasized opposition of the original disciples to the evangelizing of the Gentiles as proof that Jesus Himself had never contemplated any such extension of His commission

(The Prophecies of Jesus Christ, pp. 220, 225, 288; Matt. x., 5; cf. xv., 24). That Jesus inaugurated His mission under the belief that it was limited to the Jews is evident from the Scripture quoted, especially in its further testimony that this particular personal mission of the Twelve was to take up the entire time between its inception and the return of Jesus in Glory (Matt. x, 23; Parousia-HDB, p. 677a). Are we then, with Schwartzkopff, to attribute to Jesus an entirely mistaken notion as to the extent of His mission? On the contrary, it seems to us that the difficulty of the problem finds solution in the acceptance of the view that the disciples of Jesus from their lack of spiritual insight failed to keep abreast with their Master's development in His conception of His mission. Submitting His spirit from the beginning to be taught by the same gradual revelation which comes naturally to all great minds, He had at first arranged merely for a mission to the Jews, since He was divinely conscious that He had been sent primarily to them as their Messiah. It was not until the approach of death that He saw clearly how absolutely they had rejected Him, and He then became conscious that His mission had actually comprised the whole world and not merely the kingdom of Israel. Thus it was that after His resurrection He bestowed a universal commission upon a larger circle of His disciples, such as the five hundred brethren, a final commission in which that previously given to the Twelve was absorbed, and its exclusiveness lost forever. But His Jewish disciples, as led by the "Eleven," were slow to realize the

change, if indeed they ever realized it, which is doubtful. They seem to the last to have been incapable of breaking away from the belief that the Gospel message meant primarily the restoration of the kingdom to Israel. It was not one of the Twelve but a Hellenist that first proclaimed the end of Judaism, declaring that neither the Temple nor the law of Moses was necessary to the worship of God. The following year the Samaritans received the Gospel from another Hellenist, and the two Apostles, Peter and John, were sent to confirm the work done. Yet it was not till eleven years more that any approach was made to the Gentiles, and then it required a special revelation to Peter to show him that the Gentiles were to be fellow-heirs with the Jews. The Church of Jerusalem, after hearing his report, while willing to acknowledge the facts, nevertheless insisted upon a sharply drawn dividing line between the Jews and Gentile Christians (Gall. ii, 9, 12, 13.), finally entering into an arrangement for Peter, as their representative, going to the Jews, and Paul to the Gentiles. Their failure, however, to understand the scope of the Gospel lost the Twelve their leadership in the spread of Christianity, this honor passing to others, for upon the death of Stephen, laymen were the first to commence the Church's missionary work (Acts xi, 19).

Now in Bishop Hall insisting that the original Apostles were the specially appointed officers or organs of the Church, he is attempting to bring once more into activity the original policy of the completed Twelve in their effort to confine the Gospel to the renewing of Judaism. Indeed,

his defense of the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is, as the great English Nonconformist expressed it,—“an attempt to build a Jewish portico on to the Christian Temple.” But this can no more be done to-day than it could in the days of the Apostles themselves. These latter failed in such an attempt, and no wonder, seeing that it was entirely contrary to the final teaching of the Master. If then the Apostles failed, is it to be expected that their so-called representatives will have any better success?

The mistake made by Bishop Hall and his school, so it seems to us, is their belief that a man's religion is to be under as complete external supervision as his medical or legal affairs (p. 4). They seem to forget that the symbol of the rent temple veil implies that henceforth the individual may pass at once into the very presence of God and learn of Him direct what is needful for his spiritual life. A further mistake is Dr. Hall's reference to the apostolic fellowship of Acts ii, 42 (p. 11), with the inference that this term merely signifies companionship or association, whereas it may equally mean distribution (Hammond on Acts). The disciples brought to the Apostles their goods, receiving from them as each man had need, and it was this apostolic communication that they continued in and not a mere fellowship. Nor is Dr. Hall any happier in his selection of Scriptural references to prove that the Churches were subject to apostolic authority (ib). Prof. Gwatkin says that “the Apostle is not a regular ruler in the same sense as a modern Bishop, but an occasional referee, like the visitor of a college, who acts

only in case of special need" (Apostle-HDB). Prof. Sanday, after a thorough examination of the question, finds no trace that the Twelve Apostles were invested with any specific authority as rulers of the Churches (Conception of Priesthood, p. 42, ff). Prof. Lindsay is also of opinion that the Apostles did not exhibit any evidence of their exercising an exclusive or sole authority over the Churches (Acts, pp. 44, 83). The Prophets of the New Testament seem to have acted with authority equal to the Apostles except that they did not share in the care of the Churches. This fell to the Apostles although *equally* to the Elders associated with them. To conclude, there is no evidence anywhere that the Apostles had peculiar functions and responsibilities which were not equally shared by others (p. 11).

The association by Dr. Hall of Chillingworth's utterance on Episcopacy with that of the Preface to our Ordinal is unfortunate, since what the former actually indicates is that from the time of the Apostles, Episcopal government has continued to this day through an unbroken succession of its own particular order, whereas all that this Preface as originally worded indicated, is that the orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons have existed from the time of the Apostles. A complete Episcopal government necessarily includes Episcopal ordering of the Ministry. This, consequently, Chillingworth represents to have been universally received in the Church presently after the Apostles' time. But this, Bishop Wordsworth is able to maintain only from the time of the case of Collu-

thus in A. D. 324 (Min. Gra, p. 169). For many years after the time of the Apostles the Churches of Rome and Alexandria had their Bishops consecrated by Presbyters. Indeed, both Bishops Lightfoot and Wordsworth show that in other churches, for some time after the Apostles had all passed away, Presbyters were their sole rulers. Exclusive Episcopal government may have been the rule of the Catholic Church from the beginning of the fourth century, but it certainly was not prior to that period. Cranmer composed the original Preface to our Ordinal, and there is abundant evidence to show that he absolutely rejected the idea of Episcopacy as essential to the ordering of the Ministry. As amended in 1662, our present Preface so indicates, but such an inference is utterly contrary both to Scripture and early Church history.

Bishop Hall next quotes the testimony of the apostolic fathers. He begins with Clement of Rome. But Clement's evidence makes against, and not for, Bishop Hall's contention. He would have us believe that the other distinguished men of Clement xliv, 1-3, correspond to men of apostolic appointment, like Timothy and Titus, to whom the right of appointment to the Ministry was committed, that is, by the Apostles (p. 24, note). Sanday, however, rejects this view, seeing here no one in a direct line of descent from the Apostles, but merely "those whom the Church most trusted" (ib., p. 72). Bishop Hall quotes Lightfoot as testifying to the Episcopate of Clement, but Wordsworth sees in Clement no more than the president of a college of Presbyters (id., p. 106), while he thinks

that down to A. D. 140 Rome was still governed by a body of Presbyters. Here he is supported by Lightfoot, who places the adoption of the Episcopal form of government by Rome in the middle of the second century (Apostolic fathers, Vol. i, part ii, p. 384).

We are next referred to Ignatius who, we are told, knew of no other than an Episcopal form of government. This, Bishop Hall concludes from his statement, "the bishops that are settled in the furthest parts of the earth." But Lightfoot dismisses this with the explanation that "At the most it is a natural hyperbole."

Now Bishop Hall wrote his charge with Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers," and Lindsay's "The Church and the Ministry," within reach of his hand, and yet he misrepresented both writers. We are told to refer to this work of Lightfoot, the inference being that he confirms Dr. Hall's contention that Ignatius knew of no other than the Episcopal form of Church government (p. 26). On the contrary, he does the very opposite. In referring to the manner in which Polycarp had addressed the Church of Philippi, "to the Presbyters and Deacons," he adds. "If Ignatius had been writing to this Church, he would doubtless have done the same." Ignatius, however, wrote to the Church of Rome without any reference to its Bishop. Lightfoot thinks that Rome had an Episcopacy in some form or other at this time, but that it was not developed as in Asia Minor. He even thinks that it had so far developed that here it was already a distinct office from the Presbyterate (ib., p. 381., cf. 383, 384). At the same

time, in his "Dissertations" he tells us plainly that we must not suppose Clement to have occupied "the same isolated position of authority as was occupied" by his contemporaries, Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna. He was rather "the chief of the Presbyters than the chief over the Presbyters." These words somewhat modify his statement that at this period the Episcopate existed as a distinct office from the Presbyterate in the Roman Church, while they corroborate his subsequent representation in the same work, that Episcopacy was not introduced into Rome until the middle of the second century. All this shows the inaccuracy of Bishop Hall in representing Clement as "what would have been designated in later times by the name of Bishop" (p. 24). Indeed, by his further statement already quoted, that Ignatius evidently knew of no other than an Episcopal form of ecclesiastical government, one would imagine that he had never read Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers," or, at least, that he had read this work to no purpose. Writing of the conception of Episcopacy in the Ignatian epistles, Lightfoot says of the author, "There is no indication that he is upholding the Episcopal against any other form of Church government. . . . It is the recognized authority of the Churches which the writer addresses" (Apos. Fat., Vol. i, part ii, p. 382). This, therefore, is the explanation why Ignatius did not refer to its Bishop in his letter to the Church of Rome. Its Episcopacy was not that which he had been so strenuously advocating throughout his various letters. Its Bishop, if it had one at this time, was merely the chief of, and not

the chief *over* its Presbyters. Evidently, therefore, to avoid any misunderstanding he addressed his letter to the Romans in the name of the Church and not of its officials. Bishop Hall quotes Prof. Lindsay as admitting that "according to the conception of Ignatius, every Christian community ought to have at its head a Bishop, a Presbyterium or session of Elders, and a body of Deacons," but he failed to quote his previous statement that the writings of Ignatius "are not to be taken as proof that the Ignatian conception of what the threefold Ministry ought to be existed in any part of the Church whatever." Here Lightfoot agrees with Lindsay, consequently, Bishop Hall is without one shred of evidence for asserting that Ignatius knew of no other than an Episcopal form of Church government; while, as we have seen, he misrepresents both of these writers in attempting to prove his unfounded assertion.

Irenaeus is next quoted, but to no effect, since Lightfoot has shown that this father did not regard Bishops and Presbyters as distinct in order, but only in office. In other words, that they formed but one *order* and differed only in *degree* (Dissertations).

Finally, Tertullian is quoted, who, however, we think, rather tends to destroy Bishop Hall's contention, since this father while appearing to make much of apostolic descent, nevertheless affirms, "That which has constituted the difference between the governing body and its ordinary members is the authority of the Church" (Hatch, p. 124). In an appendix, Bishop Hall endeavors to discredit this statement on the ground that it was made after

Tertullian had left the Church, a circumstance, however, which, even if ecclesiastically true, in no sense affects its accuracy. Further, in his anxiety to account for Tertullian's sanction of the celebration of the eucharist by a layman, with his apparent denial of any real difference between a layman and a Priest (p. 47), Bishop Hall seems in this instance to have entirely overlooked the Church's acceptance of the validity of lay-baptism, together with the fact that in the early Church, as recorded even in Scripture itself (Acts ii, 46), laymen celebrated the eucharist as a usual thing. Apart from this evidence, however, which we are about to consider, it is a mere matter of common sense that if a layman is qualified to administer baptism, he is equally qualified to administer the communion, no greater authority being required for the one than the other. Bishop Hall is of course shocked that Tertullian should intimate that there is no real difference between a Christian layman and a Christian Priest, except, of course, what the Church itself makes. But a Priest in the Anglican Church is nothing but a Presbyter, and a Presbyter is nothing but an officer appointed by the Church to administer in an orderly manner functions which belong equally to every member. This was the unanimous opinion of the Anglican Reformers, as may be seen in Tyndale's own words when explaining the meaning of Presbyter (Blakeney on The Book of Common Prayer, p. 521). And this is fully accepted by Bishop Lightfoot, who in denying that the Sacerdotal or Priestly title is ever conferred upon the Church's officers, affirms, "The

only Priests under the Gospel . . . are the saints, the members of the Christian brotherhood" (Dissertations).

And now we come to the examination of Acts ii, 42. Here we are told that after their daily attendance at the Temple the general body of disciples, numbering over three thousand souls, broke bread at home. It is an erroneous exegesis that sees here the breaking of bread in the particular "upper room," or several rooms appointed for the purpose. The meaning of the statement is, as Stanley explains, that the "believers at Jerusalem are described as partaking of a daily meal in their private houses, as part of their religious devotions" (Chris. Institu., p. 44). Clement of Alexandria, who died in A. D. 213, shows that in his day this Jerusalem custom was still in vogue, the head of the house in each home being the celebrant (Allen-Chris. Institu., p. 522). In discussing Clement's representation, Dr. Bigg shows that here "the house father is the house Priest" (Christian Platonists of Alexandria, pp. 102-106). So it must have been at first in Jerusalem, as this is not only to be inferred from the expression "at home," as the place where the bread was broken (Acts ii, 42. RV), but the more than three thousand disciples could not have been accommodated with daily meals of which the eucharist formed the closing part, except in their own homes. Further, as there were at this time but the Twelve Apostles occupying an official position, these could not have distributed themselves to be present in all these homes to daily celebrate the eucharist. All

this shows that it must have been celebrated by laymen, and Clement's testimony to this end settles the matter conclusively.

As for Tertullian's statement that "where three Christians are, though they be laymen, there is a Church," this is borne out by Christ's assurance that where two or three are gathered together in His name He is with them (Matt. xviii, 20). Indeed, Tertullian finds further support in the statement of the supposed champion of Episcopacy, Ignatius, who says, "where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church" (Epis. Smyr.).

In summing up the evidence drawn from the Fathers quoted, Bishop Hall claims to have shown that from the first the established method of conveying ministerial authority was limited to the Episcopate. But this, we beg leave to assert, he has not shown by one definite statement to that effect. In his "Dissertations," Lightfoot showed that early in the second century "Episcopacy did not exist at all among the Philippians," and similar evidence shows that it was not yet established in Corinth or Thessalonica. Indeed, the same evidence upon which Lightfoot concludes that there was no Bishop at Philippi early in the second century, that is, nothing beyond the presidency of a chief Presbyter in these Churches, shows that at this period there was no Bishop of Rome. Thus Allen is justified in asserting that in calling Clement Bishop of Rome, as apparently Bishop Hall desires to do (pp. 24, 26), it "is an anachronism if we speak from the point of view of his own age" (ib., p. 54). I note of course that Dr.

Hall says that Clement "must have been in fact what would have been designated in *later* times by the name Bishop." But this only brings out more clearly Dr. Hall's mistake. There was no actual analogy here, but at the most a mere slight correspondence between the supposed Episcopate of Clement and that even of his contemporaries Ignatius and Polycarp, let alone of a later age, a correspondence so slight that Bishop Wordsworth feels no hesitation in representing that there was no Bishop of Rome at this period (MG, p. 126). As for Dr. Hall's attempt to show that the transmission of the Ministry has been limited to the Episcopate, the canons of Hippolytus show conclusively that, as Dr. Lindsay claims, in the early Roman Church Presbyters consecrated Bishops (The Church and the Ministry); while Bishop Wordsworth is of opinion that at Rome and Alexandria to the beginning of the middle of the third century, the Bishop, if a Presbyter, required no further ordination (*ib.*, 129 136).

It is somewhat amusing to find Bishop Hall, after laying down a most positive theory of the Apostolic Succession, which shuts out all those not ordained through an historic Episcopate, calmly asserting, "At the same time it is right to say that the acceptance of no theory of the Apostolic Succession is required of either the lay people or the Clergy. . . . So long as the generally accepted rule of the Church is observed, varying conceptions as to the grounds of its necessity may be held. This, as I understand it, is the legitimate interpretation of the phrase 'the Historic Episcopate' " (p. 38). Now this means simply

that the Historic Episcopate as understood by Bishop Hall and his school must be accepted without any question as to its warrant in Scripture or early Church history, although privately its accepter may hold any opinion of it he pleases. Finally, he describes what is meant by the Apostolic Succession as the sharing of the ministerial commission with as full authority as those whom Christ first sent in His name. But how is this authority to be acquired? One way is by entering into the fellowship of those whom Christ first sent forth. But as the gateway into this fellowship is the Historic Episcopate as understood by Dr. Hall, *someone* after all is to hold a very definite theory as to what actually constitutes the Apostolic Succession. Surely we have here both confusion and contradiction. In concluding his charge, Dr. Hall objected to the phrase "Back to Christ," preferring the looking "up to Christ" as present to-day in grace and power, since the knowledge of Christ after the flesh counts for very little (pp. 42, 43). It is, he tells us, "the upward gaze which gains a right conception of His person. And so with regard to the Ministry, its mission and authority. We must not be content with looking back to Jesus in Palestine; we must look up to Him at God's right hand, and therefore in the midst of His Church, now sending and enabling His Ministers, with whom and through whom He works by the Spirit which He breathes on them, as on His first Apostles."

Now just before the above words, Dr. Hall had conceded that the warrant for a Ministry sent by Christ could

be shown "by extraordinary signs of His commission;" yet he closes with the statement that "anything short of a whole-hearted acceptance of the claim of an Episcopal Ministry would be an unsatisfactory basis for union" (p. 53). Now surely here, as in the matter of the Apostolic Succession, we have both confusion and contradiction. What are the extraordinary signs of Christ's commission which a Ministry must show as warrant for the exercise of its functions? Is more required than was exhibited by Paul? It was his success amongst the Gentiles that won him the right hand of fellowship of the leaders of the Church of Jerusalem (Gal. ii, 8, 9). It was his success with the Corinthians which he took to be the seal of his Apostleship to them (1 Cor. ix, 2). Have not the great orthodox Churches, in their success at home and abroad in winning souls for Christ, shown as much evidence to their call of God as Paul showed by the success of his work? Why then are they to be denied the right hand of fellowship except through the medium of an Episcopal Ministry? Bishop Hall and his school in their insistence upon the Apostolic Succession are supported neither by logic nor Scripture, while to us their whole effort to defend their position is characterized by confusion of thought and inaccuracy of historical statement.

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AUTHORITIES

The following list of publications is given for the convenience of those who may desire, under the leadership of other guidance, to investigate the doctrinal and historical basis upon which The Level Plan for Church Union is founded.

As a complete list of this kind would be very long and, to the average reader, confusing, only the books which constitute the classics of the libraries for and against the position taken in the Level Plan for Church Union are given, and these are placed, in both cases, in the order of their importance. Any who may wish to go into the subject more fully will be helped in fixing upon other works by the references to them that will be found in these books and in this one, especially in its Lecture I and Appendix.

The books of the list are divided into three classes with reference to their alignment with the Level Plan for Church Union; (1) those that are, speaking broadly, exactly in line with it; (2) those that are altogether out of line with it, and (3) those that occupy an intermediary position with an inclination towards one or the other of the extremes.

In these classes the essays of Drs. Lightfoot, Hall and Sanday, entitled, respectively, "The Christian Ministry," "The Apostolic Ministry," and "The Conception of Priesthood in the Early Church and in the Church of England," are given the first places, not only on account of their excellency, but also because, while they cover with a comprehensive and masterly sweep the

most important part of the ground from the opposite sides and via media points of view, they are inexpensive and easy accessible. Mr. Thomas Whittaker, 2 and 3 Bible House, New York City, is the publisher of Bishop Lightfoot's essay, and those of Bishop Hall and Professor Sanday may be had through him. No one who has not read these three essays, or their equivalents, should consider himself competent to pass an intelligent opinion respecting the tenability of the position taken in The Level Plan for Church Union.

I. *Books with which The Level Plan for Church Union is in exact alignment:* "The Christian Ministry," by the Rt. Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., Bishop of Durham; "The Organization of the Christian Churches," by the Rev. Edwin Hatch, M.A., Vice Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford; "Christian Institutions," by the Rev. A. V. G. Allen, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; "Religions of Authority," by the Rev. Auguste Sabatier, Dean of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in the University of Paris; "The History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age," by the Rev. Arthur C. McGiffert, D.D., Professor of Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York City; "The Christian Ecclesia," by the Rev. Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Cambridge University; "What is Christianity?" by Dr. Adolph Harnack, Rector of the University of Berlin; "The Beginnings of Christianity," in

two volumes, by Dr. Wernle, Professor of Modern Church History in the University of Basel; "The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170," by the Rev. W. M. Ramsay, M. A., Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen; "The Program of Modernism and the Encyclical of Pius X," Anonymous; "History of the Christian Church from A.D. 1 to 600," by the Rev. Wilhelm Moeller, D. D., Professor of Church History in the University of Kiel; "The Church, Past and Present," edited by the Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge University; "Christian Institutions," by the Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Dean of Winchester; "Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible," and "The Schaff-Hertzog Encyclopedia," Articles in both on the Christian church, ministry and sacraments; "The Decay of the Church of Rome," by Joseph McCabe, formerly a Roman Priest.

II. *Books with which The Level Plan for Church Union is out of alignment:* "The Apostolic Ministry," by the Rt. Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D. D., Bishop of Vermont; "The Church and the Ministry," and "Orders and Unity," by the Rt. Rev. Charles Gore,

D. D., Bishop of Birmingham; "Ministerial Priesthood," by the Rev. R. C. Moberly, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford; "The Church of the Apostles," by the Rev. Lonsdale Ragg, B. D.; "Bingham's Christian Antiquities," and "Blunt's Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology," articles in both cases on the Christian church, ministry and sacraments.

III. *Books with which The Level Plan for Church Union is neither altogether in nor out of alignment, but which should not be passed over by anyone who desires to make a thorough study of the problem created by the divisions of Christians:* "The Conception of Priesthood in the Early Church and in the Church of England," by the Rev. Professor W. Sanday, D. D., LL. D.; "The Ministry of Grace," by the Rt. Rev. John Wordsworth, D. D., Bishop of Salisbury; "Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism," by the Rev. Newman Smythe, D. D.; "Church Unity, Studies in its Most Important Problems," by the Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D. D., Professor of Theological Encyclopedia and Symbolics, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.



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